DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 392 534 PS 023 975

AUTHOR Basurto, Paolo
TITLE Children of Minorities: Deprivation and Discrimination. Innocenti Insights.
INSTITUTION United Nations Children's Fund, Florence (Italy). International Child Development Centre.
REPORT NO ISBN-88-85401-23-6
PUB DATE 95
NOTE 104p.; Photographs may not reproduce clearly.
AVAILABLE FROM UNICEF International Child Development Centre, Piazza S.S. Annunziata 12--50122 Florence, Italy ($9).
PUB TYPE Books (010) -- Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021) -- Viewpoints (Opinion/Position Papers, Essays, etc.) (120)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Acculturation; Anthropology; Bilingual Education; Bilingualism; Cultural Pluralism; Ethnic Bias; *Ethnic Discrimination; Ethnic Relations; Ethnocentrism; Foreign Countries; Majority Attitudes; *Minority Groups; *Multicultural Education; Racial Integration; Social Bias; *Social Discrimination; Social Integration; Stereotypes
IDENTIFIERS Gypsies; Italy; Latin America; United Nations Convention on Rights of the Child; United Nations Economic and Social Council

ABSTRACT

This collection of essays, condensed from papers presented at a meeting organized by UNICEF's International Child Development Centre on "Discrimination against Children and Families of Minority Groups and Indigenous Peoples," (Florence, Italy, February 1994) focuses on discriminatory situations of indigenous and minority groups. Innovative approaches to the problem of discrimination are highlighted. The lack of research in this area is discussed, along with ideas for further study. The following chapters are included: (1) "Children: Victims and Symbols" (Paolo Basurto); (2) "Children and Families of Minority Groups" (Rodolfo Stavenhagen); (3) "Panel 1--So What Is New?"; (4) "Gypsy and Traveller Communities" (Jean-Pierre Liegeois); (5) "Children of Immigrants" (Paolo Chiozzi); (6) "Different Equalities: Intercultural Education in Italy" (Donato Lodi); (7) "Panel 2--The Monitoring Process and the Case of Indigenous Children"; (8) "Education and the Indigenous Peoples of Latin America" (Lucia D'Emilio); and (9) "The Children of Indigenous Peoples in Latin America: The Intercultural Conflict" (Jose Matos Mar). An appendix lists participants at the 1994 meeting and describes essay contributors. (BGC).

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 392 534

INNOCENTI INSIGHTS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

CHILDREN *of* MINORITIES

deprivation and discrimination

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN **OTHER THAN PAPER COPY** HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Patricia Light
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)"

PS 023975

unicef
United Nations Children's Fund

International Child Development Centre
Florence - Italy

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

INNOCENTI INSIGHTS

CHILDREN *of* MINORITIES
deprivation and discrimination

Project coordinated by
PAOLO BASURTO

unicef
United Nations Children's Fund

International Child Development Centre
Florence - Italy

Acknowledgments

The issues presented in this volume were initially raised in the February 1994 meeting which took place in Florence on 'Discrimination against Children and Families of Minority Groups and Indigenous Peoples'. I am indebted to all participants who took part in that meeting for their invaluable contributions. I should also like to thank the Director of the International Child Development Centre, Jim Himes, as well as colleagues from UNICEF New York, for sharing my concern about the children of minorities and for encouraging me to turn this concern into action. Various people at the *Innocenti* Centre have participated in the 'children of minorities' project, and I am particularly grateful to Valeria Russo for her assistance in coordinating parts of it as well as for helping to organize the February 1994 meeting. Patricia Light managed the publication process, and this volume owes much to her input. Finally, a special word of thanks is due to Anny Bremner for her editorial assistance and to Diana Saltarelli without whose writing skills this publication would probably never have seen the light of day.

Paolo Basurto*
Representative
Guatemala Area Office

* Deputy Director, UNICEF International Child Development Centre, until October 1994.

Project Coordination: Paolo Basurto
Editors: Diana Saltarelli and Anny Bremner

Designed by: Bernard Chazine, Siena

Extracts from this publication may be freely reproduced provided that due acknowledgment is given to the source and to UNICEF. The opinions expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the policies or views of UNICEF.

© UNICEF 1995
ISBN 88-85401-23-6

UNICEF International Child Development Centre
Piazza S.S. Annunziata 12 – 50122 Florence, Italy

CONTENTS

FOREWORD
James R. Himes 5

CHILDREN: VICTIMS AND SYMBOLS
Paolo Basurto 7

CHILDREN AND FAMILIES OF MINORITY GROUPS
Rodolfo Stavenhagen 19

PANEL 1 - So What Is New? 31

GYPSY AND TRAVELLER COMMUNITIES
Jean-Pierre Liégeois 33

CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS
Paolo Chiozzi 47

DIFFERENT EQUALITIES: INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN ITALY
Donata Lodi 57

PANEL 2 - The Monitoring Process and the Case of Indigenous Children 73

EDUCATION AND THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF LATIN AMERICA
Lucia D'Emilio 77

THE CHILDREN OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN LATIN AMERICA:
THE INTERCULTURAL CONFLICT
José Matos Mar 89

APPENDIX - List of the Workshop Participants 101

FOREWORD

Recent images from Rwanda and Bosnia have once again made the world acutely aware of the consequences that discrimination and intolerance can have. What perhaps not enough people realize, however, is how directly and even deliberately children are affected by this unleashed hatred.

According to UNICEF's *Facts and Figures, 1994-1995*, in the last decade war, including ethnic conflicts, has caused the deaths of 1.5 million children and has left over 4 million more handicapped. In its wake, one million children have been separated from their parents, orphaned or abandoned, and 12 million children have lost their homes. Over 10 million children have suffered severe psychological traumas. Many have witnessed their family members being killed or have been exposed to atrocities. A growing number of children have even committed atrocities themselves. UNICEF reports that from 300 to 400 children aged 11 to 17 are being held in Rwandan prisons, accused of genocide. Many of these children were forced to participate in the fighting under threat of being massacred. Most are severely traumatized.

The victimization of children is not accidental. Children represent the continuity of a race, ethnic group or religious denomination; they perpetuate diversity. In times of conflict, that diversity becomes intolerable. Children are perceived as enemies and made the prime targets of genocide.

Children are also the main victims of less obvious forms of discrimination than the brutality in Rwanda and Bosnia. Data from every part of the world show that indigenous peoples, Gypsies, most immigrant groups and many other marginalized minorities, including some living in the richest countries in the world, have higher infant and under-five morbidity and mortality rates and lower educational achievement than overall populations. By failing to provide basic core services to these groups and disregarding the structural causes of poverty, governments are largely responsible for this suffering and loss.

To investigate ways to prevent and address these acute emergency situations and chronic 'everyday' inequities, our Centre organized a meeting in 1994 on 'Discrimination Against Children and Families of Minority Groups and Indigenous Peoples'. This publication, the follow-up to a first publication on children of minorities[1], contains abridged versions of the meeting's main discussion papers. It seeks to define the major concepts involved in the issue and traces international efforts to date to create legal instruments against intolerance and discrimination.

The various chapters are linked by the recognition that the limits of tolerance and intolerance are located in collective values, and these values are transmitted by the family, the school,

1. See Costarelli, S., 'Children of Minorities: Gypsies', *Innocenti Insights*, UNICEF, International Child Development Centre, Florence, 1995.

the media, the judiciary and many other of society's institutions. When families are so discriminated against that their only legacy to their children is hate; when schools teach children to regard non-dominant cultures as inferior and undesirable; when media use stereotypes and inflammatory language that reinforce prejudices; when judges hand out stiff sentences to minority youths who commit petty infractions while exercising paternal leniency towards young racists; when law enforcement officials are suspected of taking part in 'death squads' – then the seeds of hatred and violence are planted in the minds of children and youth.

Innovative approaches to these problems are being undertaken, particularly through education, both within and outside the school. In Italy and other industrialized countries, for instance, attempts are being made to introduce into school curricula a discussion of development issues, and to help children, especially children of the dominant culture, learn to recognize the importance and richness of cultural diversity. In some Latin American countries, projects have been initiated whose objectives are to nourish and protect that diversity through bilingual education. The media are increasingly playing a key role in building a positive perception of 'difference'.

A recurrent theme throughout the volume is the lack of specific studies on discrimination and its effects on children. As we have seen, this research gap is paradoxical considering how tragically central to the issue children actually are. As a start, information could be collected and analysed relating to the innumerable projects that have already been undertaken addressing the problems of Gypsy and immigrant populations in Europe and North America. There are many lessons to be learned, deriving both from failures and from successes.

Many subjects require further study and others raise issues of values and value judgements. For example, what is in the best interests of children belonging to a minority group if the right to maintain their own language implies that they will receive a poorer quality education and will inevitably suffer a sense of inferiority in relation to children of the dominant culture? How is the health of indigenous children affected by preserving traditional customary practices or by replacing them with modern methods of prevention and care? To what extent can the effects of education of the girl child — and therefore the changing role of women in the community — be absorbed without shifting the very bases of strongly patriarchal cultures? Could the loss of cultural identity be justified if this were to bring about a reduction in infant mortality rates? What costs are involved in providing primary services in a multi-ethnic society and how do they compare to those incurred by a society based on integration — for instance, is multilingual education feasible in resource-poor countries?

The situation of children of indigenous and minority groups is now being monitored by the Committee on the Rights of the Child, established in connection with the 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. The Committee is responsible not only for examining State Party reports but also for suggesting specific measures that States Parties should take to fulfil their treaty obligations. Some excerpts from that monitoring process are included in this volume. The Committee is placing great emphasis on the importance of bringing about attitudinal changes. Training material and courses relating to children's rights need to be devised targeting teachers, policemen, judges, social workers, journalists and other professionals whose work involves children. Moreover, the Convention needs to be translated into local languages and in various other ways made accessible to communities, families and children themselves. It is essential that individuals, even in the remotest areas, are aware that efforts are being made to increase respect for diversity, to safeguard cultural heritages and to secure peaceful coexistence – and that their Governments are legally and morally committed to work towards these goals.

James R. Himes
Director
UNICEF International Child Development Centre

CHILDREN: VICTIMS AND SYMBOLS

PAOLO BASURTO

Introduction

The Concept of Childhood

Children, it is commonly believed, have always held a privileged position in society. Their unique standing is thought to derive from a variety of social and biological factors that transcend epochs and cultures. However, this image of childhood is difficult to reconcile with reality. Children do not automatically receive special attention, care and community resources. They are not necessarily placed high on a hypothetical scale of social and individual values. Indeed, millions die every year of diseases that could easily have been prevented (Badinter, 1980).

Yet, there is little doubt that 'childhood' is a powerful concept. The world has witnessed events that were possible only because they were proposed and undertaken for the sake of children. In Lebanon, El Salvador and Mozambique, truces were called in the midst of violent conflicts so that children could be vaccinated. Authoritarian governments, such as the Pinochet or Duvalier regimes, permitted opposition forces to deliver food and other aid to children. Heads of state have come together in unprecedented numbers with one single item on their agenda — children's welfare.

Efforts to protect and improve children's well-being have activated processes of profound social change. Over the past 15 years, a full-scale international mobilization has taken place whose aim has been to translate children's needs into a universal code. This 'revolution' in favour of children, as UNICEF terms it, implies that consensus can be reached at all levels of society regarding certain fundamental values relating to children.

The concept of 'childhood' is so strong a uniting and mobilizing force that it has brought about demands for a new international ethic for children. As *The State of the World's Children 1995* asserts:

> The time has now come to put the needs and the rights of children at the very centre of development strategy. ... Childhood is the period when minds and bodies and personalities are being formed and during which even temporary deprivation is capable of inflicting lifelong damage and distortion on human development. It follows that, whether the threat be war and conflict or economic marginalization, children should, as far as is humanly possible, be protected from the worst mistakes and malignancies of the adult world (UNICEF, 1995, p. 14).

The report then defines the essence of this new ethic: the principle that children "should be given a first call on societies' concerns and capacities, and that this commitment should be maintained in good times and in bad".

The widespread and rapid acceptance of the 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) is one clear indication that the world community considers this a

reasonable proposal. No other international human rights agreement has entered into force as quickly, nor has any other convention been ratified by as many States in so short a time. A universal consensus is increasingly evident, including at the level of popular consciousness, that children's well-being is an essential value and that this value can guide social progress.

The element that gives universal symbolic value to childhood and child well-being is the emotional force that children elicit. The compassion, the horror, the solidarity that the image of a suffering child provokes go far beyond ideologies or doctrines. These emotions can catalyze social consensus on an affective level long before rational understanding is reached. If this consensus can then be stimulated by concrete programmes of action, a process of social mobilization will ensue and gather such momentum that political forces will be forced to support programmes, if for no other reason than political expedience.

Ethnic Conflicts

Development strategies can, in principle, be built on this new ethic for children and the possibilities for social change that it embodies (Himes, 1993). However, before such strategies can be devised, many obstacles have to be overcome. The most severe and deeply rooted of these obstacles are poverty, ignorance and injustice. To these must be added the so-called ethnic conflicts that are flaring up throughout the world today with an almost contagious force. Although these conflicts often involve distinct ethnic groups, at other times the differences between warring parties are less clear. Conflict may be motivated by religious, historical, linguistic, social or racial causes, as well as economic and territorial factors, or any combination of these forces. What does seem certain, however, is that ways for different groups to live peacefully in single social systems are not being found. Often underlying differences take the form of fanaticism, with its inevitable outcome of violence and bloodshed.

The origin of incompatibility is often seen to be power, "the power to define the boundaries of values shared by individuals with a common heritage living in the same territory":

> Those people or groups who do not accept these boundaries consequently become a minority. The refusal of a group to be incorporated into the dominant value system can have many negative repercussions for them ... It means a sharp attack on the identity of the group, resulting in social subordination and marginalization (Pace, 1993, p. 8).

With the dissolution of multi-ethnic States, intolerance has shifted from the realm of the single State to that of international relations. Tensions between States have exploded into full-scale conflicts, invariably characterized by strong popular participation and deeply felt ethnic, religious and nationalistic identities. One recent study shows that between 1945 and 1980, state-sponsored massacres of members of ethnic and political groups were responsible for greater losses of life than all other forms of conflict combined, including international, colonial and civil wars (Stavenhagen, 1990).

Although historical events in the past few years led some commentators to predict the end of ethnic conflicts, new conflict situations have continued to erupt, some threatening to reach unprecedented proportions. Moreover, their causes often remain all too obscure. In these volatile situations, warring factions are less and less influenced by humanitarian considerations and, indeed, are even likely, in increasingly explicit and brutal ways, to make women and children their deliberate targets. There seems to be a growing popular belief that incompatibility has genetic origins, and therefore the only way to dissipate built-up violence is to vent it on those who represent the continuity of that very difference.

Ethnic conflict, in fact, has become an almost-permanent form of social and political struggle in every major region of the world (ibid.). Two trends have contributed to its prevalence. First of all, societies are becoming ethnically more complex because of increased

migration. Secondly, intolerance to all that is different or foreign is intensifying and, in some countries, even seeping once again into ideologies and political platforms.

Research on Ethnic Minority Children

How can ethnic conflicts be prevented? And how can children be protected during these tragic struggles? In this increasingly divided and insecure international climate, what kinds of initiatives can be found that are neither sensationalist nor guided by the utopian belief that moral condemnation can by itself bring about change? Research conducted to date sheds only a feeble light on these issues.

An extensive literature exists on discrimination and ethnic conflict (though not quite as extensive as some would believe). The broader issues regarding ethnicity have been viewed from philosophical, anthropological, economic, legal, moral, religious, historical, political and social perspectives. Each approach has its own particular relevance but contributes only partially to a satisfactory interpretation of these phenomena. Regardless of the approaches taken in different analyses, there is not one single aspect of discrimination that does not involve the child. Yet, remarkably little research has been carried out on children belonging to minority groups, and only fragmentary data on their situation exist, especially in developing countries.

Most of the available studies on minority children suggest that these children face a wide range of serious problems: the emotional conflicts involved in trying to reconcile two cultures; the negative effects of discrimination on educational achievement; the damaging consequences of becoming caught in ethnic-based violence; the strong risk of involvement in criminal activities, such as drug trafficking or prostitution; and serious health problems and higher mortality and morbidity rates, which are inevitably associated with segregation and low social status. The North American Indian children, for example, have school drop-out rates ranging from 45 to 62 per cent. The situation of the Indios in Central America is even more dramatic. In recent decades, between 100,000 and 200,000 Indios children have lost at least one parent as a result of persecution and civil strife. In India, the children of marginalized castes are often forced to live and work in slave-like conditions, even in the modern industrial sector. In the Dominican Republic, children of the Haitian minority are severely exploited in sugar factories. In the United States, Mexican children have been found working in clandestine garment workshops. Persecution of the Kurds in Iraq reached horrifying levels in 1991 when the poisoning of milk and water supplies resulted in the deaths of approximately 100,000 children (Pace, 1993).

If it is true that tolerance thresholds are culturally learned and are therefore intrinsically related to the education process, children themselves may represent the logical starting point for attenuating ethnic divisions. In addition, the respect, compassion and solidarity that childhood by its very nature elicits is, in itself, an extremely important resource in the prevention of conflicts. The child is therefore one of the principle victims of discrimination and perhaps a key to an effective response to the problem. For these reasons, a better understanding is urgently needed of why and how children get caught up in the mechanisms of discrimination, whether violent or more subtly harmful.

The Foundations of a 'Social Contract'

> Many of the major conflicts today in the world are the results of deteriorated race relations, group frictions, group hatred, discrimination against minorities, disregard of the collective aspirations of religious, ethnic, or cultural groups and of the rights of their individual members (Lerner, 1991).

Natan Lerner's words reflect a widely held view among those working in areas relating to minorities. They are also quite similar to comments made more than 30 years ago by the drafters of one of the most important legal

A Kurdish child who had fled during the 1991 persecutions returning home at the end of the Gulf War

instruments produced by the international community in the fight against discrimination: Convention No. 111, on Discrimination in Employment and Occupation, adopted by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in June 1958. C.W. Jenks, a highly respected social commentator of the period, wrote in his 1960 book, *Human Rights and International Labor Standards*:

> The insistent claim to full equality of opportunity by racial minorities ... in industrial countries ...; the rising tide of protest throughout the ex-colonial and colonial world, and the independent countries where the issue arises in an acute manner, against color discrimination in every form; the complex problem of multiracial communities ...; the resentment throughout the underdeveloped world ...; the claim to full equality in the national community of religious and social outcasts ... and non-integrated indigenous populations ...; the systematic exploitation of the issue of discrimination as an instrument of political warfare — all of these forces, varied as they are in origin and nature, have combined to make the problem of discrimination one of the crucial issues of contemporary international politics and of the national politics of many countries (Jenks, 1960, p. 152).

Although discrimination still appears to be one of the most serious problems of our times, there has been considerable progress in conceptual and legal terms since 1948, when the first international convention against genocide was approved. By 1992, when the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities was adopted, the basic concepts of 'discrimination' and 'minority' had been analysed in depth from philosophical, social science and legal perspectives. Studies have clarified many aspects of discrimination; many have also emphasized that peaceful coexistence in the world today depends importantly on finding ways to deal with this complex and politically sensitive issue.

What Is Meant by Discrimination?

Quite an effort seems to be required to exhaust all the possible interpretations of discrimination, whose real nature continues to elude us. If most important texts of international law were combined, the most probable definition of discrimination to emerge would be the following:

> Discrimination shall mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, color, religion or belief, descent, ethnic origin, language or sex, which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of life (Lerner, 1991, p. 21).

According to some scholars, discrimination should not be confused with distinction and should be understood instead as "an unfair, unreasonable, unjustifiable or arbitrary distinction" (McKean, 1983). The problem is by no means solely theoretical. Underlying the notion of discrimination is the recognition that something is 'done' or 'not done' in relation to someone. "It may imply a denial of rights, an imposition of burdens or the granting of illegal privileges to other persons." These situations then produce outcomes of unjustified inequality (Lerner, 1991, p. 26). Thus, we are faced with a set of interrelated concepts (justice, equality, discrimination and tolerance) that are somewhat relative from a legal point of view as they depend largely on the interaction of political and social forces, such as groups and States.

Concepts of 'Minority' and 'Group'

As additional international legal instruments have come into force, the term 'minority' has lost its once predominantly racial significance. There has, in fact, been a rejection of the concept of race, a concept that anthropologists and sociologists heatedly debated during most of the 19th and early 20th centu-

ries. Article 1 of the 1978 UNESCO Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice affirms that "all human beings belong to a single species and are descended from a common stock", and that "all peoples of the world possess equal faculties for attaining the highest level in intellectual, technical, social, economic, cultural and political development". It also sustains that "all **individuals and groups** (emphasis added) have the right to be different, to consider themselves as different and to be regarded as such".

In other words, what is of interest is not that any given community, whose members may be identified by presumedly genetic-biological characteristics, is at a numerical disadvantage and therefore vulnerable to exploitation and injustice. What is of real interest is the right to be different, in whatever ways that difference is expressed. Equally important, if not more so, is the right to express differences both individually and collectively. Reprehensible discriminatory practices can, it is well known, be carried out not only by States in relation to groups and individuals, but also by groups in relation to their own members or members of other groups.

At this point, the concept of 'minority' is too narrow to contain the full complexity of the problem. Central to the issue are the power relations among and within States and groups.

The nature and structure of the modern State, new forms of international cooperation and association, the role of regional decentralization and the growing acceptance of the legitimacy of group consciousness — a legitimacy implicit in the right to be different and to choose whether or not to be integrated in a specific society (Lerner, 1991) — are some of the main considerations that could justify the emergence of the concept of 'group' as opposed to 'minority'.

However, other problems arise when using this abstraction. Among these are the definition of 'group' and the implications for group members in terms of their positions both within the group and within the larger society. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to examine the many attempts that have been made to define 'groups', it can generally be said that groups share common characteristics or interests and are based on a sense of belonging, in itself a subjective concept although rationalized by objective elements such as age, occupation, sex or sexual orientation, political opinions, somatic features and physical disabilities (ibid.).

The 1992 Declaration on Minorities does not seem to leave much room for conceptual development and in some ways actually appears to take a step backwards. In fact, the terms of the Declaration refer almost exclusively to national, ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities. Some observers maintain that the Declaration's intention to protect groups is evident (Thornberry, 1993), even if few and only indirect references are made to 'groups' (Articles 2 and 3). Moreover, the concept of 'minority' is not defined in the Declaration, making many different interpretations possible. Serious doubts, for instance, remain concerning the Declaration's applicability to indigenous populations. Furthermore, because the Declaration affirms the concepts of territorial integrity and the political sovereignty of States, in certain cases this could mean that members of minority groups are free to enjoy their rights only insofar as these are compatible with national laws.

'Groups' and other collective actors such as 'communities' or 'associations' are still juridically ambiguous but socially quite dynamic. They play a substantial role in determining the behaviour of individuals. The concept of the group can help us to understand the strong link that exists both at the international and national levels between politics and ethnicity as well as between ethnic conflict and international stability (Stack, 1981).

Non-Discrimination and Minorities in the CRC

Since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the non-discrimination principle has became an 'admitted concept' of international law. In the long and complex juridical debate concerning minorities (Thornberry, 1993), there has been a growing conviction that the principle of non-

discrimination should be extended to groups, especially as a purely individualistic interpretation of equal protection provides a questionable basis for affirmative action.

The CRC places considerable emphasis on the issue of non-discrimination. Article 2 confronts this requirement explicitly and in detail. It states that discrimination on the basis of "race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, property, disability, birth or other status" or "on the basis of the status, activities, expressed opinions, or beliefs of the child's parents, legal guardians, or family members" must not be used in any way to limit the rights set down in the CRC. Article 30, concerning religious, linguistic and cultural rights, affirms that the preservation of a group's existence may be related to the basic human right of education combined with the right ("that shall not be denied" to children belonging to minority groups and indigenous children) to enjoy a separate (cultural) identity. In so doing, this provision contributes importantly to the process of forging new legal tools addressing the issues that prevail in multi-ethnic, multireligious or multicultural societies (Russo, 1995).

The emphasis in Article 30 is on 'affirmative action' whose purpose is to take transitional preferential measures to correct historical inequities and prevent the perpetuation of social disadvantages (Eide, 1994). Thus, while the right to non-discrimination provided for in Article 2 obviously includes minority groups, the right to a distinction, in the sense of a positive discrimination involving affirmative actions on the part of the State, exists in order to guarantee the right of each child to his or her own culture, religion and language.

However, of greater importance, in my opinion, is the spirit that pervades the whole CRC. This spirit is clearly oriented towards a definition of universal values that are unconstrained by the existence of diversity within the social system and that are grounded in the "physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development of the child" (Article 27).

▶ Selected List of International Instruments Relevant to the Rights of Children Belonging to a Minority or an Indigenous Group

1945	Charter of the United Nations
1948	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
1948	Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide
1950	European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms
1957	ILO Convention No. 107, concerning Indigenous and Tribal Populations or Peoples
1958	African Charter on Human and People's Rights
1958	ILO Convention No. 111, on Discrimination in Employment and Occupation
1960	UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education
1965	United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
1966	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
1966	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
1966	UNESCO Declaration of the Principles of International Cultural Cooperation
1973	United Nations Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid
1978	UNESCO Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice
1981	United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief
1981	Council of Europe Community Charter of Regional Languages and Cultures and the Charter of the Rights of Ethnic Minorities
1989	ILO Convention No. 169, concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries
1989	Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) Concluding Document of the Vienna Meeting on the Follow-up to the Conference
1989	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
1990	Council of Europe List of Minority Rights Drawn up by the European Commission of Democracy through Law
1990	Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) Charter of Paris for a New Europe
1992	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities

Thus, underlying the CRC is an awareness that differences should be recognized, respected and even fostered if they favour the well-being and complete development of the child. This awareness is particularly evident in Articles 3, 12 and 13, which refer respectively to "the best interests of the child", to the child's right to hold and express opinions and to be heard on all matters affecting him or her, and to the child's right to seek, receive and impart information.

Although not easily applied, the principle of the best interests of the child has major legal implications for children, and its interpretation will certainly engage judges, lawyers and legislators for some time (Alston, 1994). The right to participation, provided for in Articles 12 and 13, makes the child a potential actor in processes of social change and no longer a passive subject of beliefs and traditions that may impede his or her well-being (Hart, 1992).

But, once again, it is the philosophical nature of the CRC that cannot be challenged. Condensed in its 54 articles is a complete cultural and social plan, which gives full symbolic expression to the "best interests of the child". And, indeed, there is much room for reflection on how an understanding of the relations among different social groups could be developed if, above all else, the well-being of the child were taken as a primary consideration.

Dilemmas of Social Coexistence

Concealed beneath the problems of definition and terminology in relation to minorities and discrimination lie some fundamental questions about social coexistence: How can a balance be struck between diversity and similarity? How can multiple elements be brought together in a single entity? How can individual and collective freedom be respected within limits that have as their common denominator 'belonging' and tolerance?

Clearly, the guiding principles of the French Revolution, which also inspired the development of modern democracy — "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" — need to be re-examined and revived so that the needs of multi-ethnic cultures can be met, without at the same time jeopardizing social unity or causing conflicts and stalemates among decision makers.

It is also necessary to recognize the limits of tolerance — the lofty principle that guided the process of democratization that began in the 19th century. As Herbert Marcuse (1968) contended, tolerance without limits becomes a subtle and powerful instrument of repression, as, in fact, has been seen. This means that there are times when intolerance is called for; that there are situations that do not allow for flexibility; that a responsibility to react does exist; and that the norms governing social relations should not inevitably work to the benefit of the dominant group.

The aspiration to justice is perhaps the strongest of all human motivations, both on the individual and the collective level. However, the fine line between what is just and what is unjust has from time immemorial constituted the most complex dilemma of social coexistence.

Indigenous populations, for instance, are fighting for recognition as nations; in other times, not so long ago, this would have been referred to as a fight for independence. However, as the era of decolonization is generally thought to be over, 'independence' as well appears to be an outdated concept. Today one speaks of autonomy, self-determination and the right to own and exploit territorial resources, concepts that are almost never clearly defined.

The fall of the Soviet empire has precipitated a drive towards autonomy and, together with massive increases in migration, has lent greater urgency to the search for values that would set new boundaries of tolerance within a framework of social, national and international coexistence.

The road ahead is no doubt a long one. However, agreement has already been reached, and not just in theory, that when children's deaths can be prevented, the international community as a whole has an obligation to intervene. Such a prospect is no doubt full of risks. "The principles of sovereignty, non-use of armed force, and of non-intervention are important ordering principles, not to be

bypassed lightly". Asbjorn Eide (1988) cautions, "Hegemonical states still bypass international law in pursuit of interventionist policies, sometimes thinly disguised as 'humanitarian intervention' or 'intervention by invitation'."

As global interdependence is increasingly recognized, the values the world community shares need to be promoted and defended with greater effectiveness. In the future, a global approach may be required not only to economies and politics, but also to ethics. Thus, the same need that exists at the national level arises even more urgently at the global level, the need to reconcile the right to be different with the obligation to obey common laws. Achieving this reconciliation peacefully will depend for the most part on values that are presumed to be universal. These values are held by both individuals and groups and are manifested in practical everyday actions as well as in emergency situations.

Lawyers are very much aware that laws will only be just if they clearly identify with a common spirit. Indeed, this is another way of pointing to the need for a culture that incorporates that spirit into the norms of social coexistence.

To what extent has this debate been of interest to individuals and groups working in the area of children's welfare and development? Are children especially implicated in ethnic conflicts and in the way that the rights of so-called minorities are formulated, recognized, enjoyed, negated or violated? Can a shift conceivably be made from a narrow focus on children to the adoption of effective solutions on a more general level? Can addressing the situation of child victims of social discrimination contribute to improvements if the larger problems of national and international coexistence are not first resolved? In which sectors do children most suffer discrimination and in which sectors is it more urgent, but also more effective, to intervene? Who could most appropriately intervene, and how? Given existing international norms, could international organizations conceivably take on a new role on behalf of children in an area as sensitive as that of minority rights and ethnic conflicts?

As Rodolfo Stavenhagen (1988) asserts:

> [W]hilst it is not the task of the social scientist to render judgement on whether the claims and demands of ethnic groups in conflict are right or wrong, neither is he or she insensitive or neutral with regard to fundamental moral issues relating to freedom, liberty, justice and human rights.

All the more reason to ask how one can remain insensitive to these issues when they apply to children, the future of humanity.

The Child: Victim and Symbol

"The most important aspect for minority groups is the rights of the child", writes Stephen Roth (1992, p. 99), one of the few people working in this field who identify children as being central to the issue of discrimination. "The protection of the family is of existential importance to minorities, just as the rights of the child are vital assurance of their continuity." Roth also places the persecution of minority children within a historical context: "The oppression of minorities through killing of children has been a frequent historical phenomenon. Indeed the killing of children as a means of oppression goes back to biblical times."

It has been estimated that 1.5 million children have been killed and another 4 million injured in armed conflicts during the past decade; 5 million children currently live in refugee camps; and 12 million displaced children live outside of their own communities. During 1993 alone, no fewer than half a million children died as a direct or indirect result of conflict situations, the majority of which were ethnic wars.

Ethnic conflicts are certainly the most brutal form of conflicts, as is evidenced in former Yugoslavia, Somalia, Lebanon, Sudan, Afghanistan, not to mention the most recent and terrible tragedy of Rwanda. By June 1994, according to some estimates, 150,000 Rwandan children had been orphaned or abandoned. It is clear that this ethnic war is being fought in the name of children, with children and against children.

Why so much perversion? Why is the basic human instinct to protect children lost in these situations? Tarzi Vittachi, Deputy Executive Director of UNICEF for many years, asked this question in his last book, published posthumously. Vittachi was not specifically concerned with minorities but with wars, which divide men to the point of corrupting their spirits, and with children, victims of this apparently senseless process. He was, however, fundamentally optimistic, believing that it is not so much 'men' who become perverse, but governments that lose all sense of common good and of real collective interests.

"There is no such thing as a just war, however blaring the propaganda. There is no human reason to kill a child. People have children. Governments don't." Referring specifically to the Horn of Africa, Vittachi did not hesitate to affirm:

> Much of the horrors were the fallout of Cold War geopolitics. Remote-control power games played in Washington and Moscow had destroyed any early possibility that Ethiopia, Somalia, the Sudan and Angola ... could develop their own democratic systems of governance and build a future for their children (Vittachi, 1993, p. 84).

Vittachi was also a champion of the value of the child as a universal symbol able to stimulate strategies of peace and consensus, even between the most hostile of forces. What most struck him in his experience with UNICEF, he wrote, was that

> ... through children it has been possible to touch a core of human value deep in the consciousness even of men who have been raised and trained in a military culture. Napoleon Duarte and his guerilla opponents, Milton Obote, Okello and Musuveni in Uganda, El Bashir in the Sudan, have each been trained to win wars without compunction, but they have all been stirred in that deep place within them which responds to the call of children. It is this feeling of primary obligation which has caused people in the past ten years to open a window in their fortified walls of sovereignty to let in the humanitarian life blood needed to keep children alive while their elders try to settle their power quarrels by killing one another. Is it too fanciful to extrapolate from this experience the thought that these Corridors and Zones of Peace for children may be the wedge that was needed and will eventually serve to separate human beings from war? (ibid., pp. 125-126).

This conclusion, if legitimate, could also help us to understand how best to act for children and through children on the critical issues of oppressed minorities, indigenous peoples and discrimination in general.

In the final analysis, ethnic conflicts now are at the root of most of our worst armed conflicts. Resolution of these conflicts, therefore, is crucial to international peace and stability. As some scholars have pointed out, minority rights, sacrosanct as they are, are unfortunately a terrible generating force for wars (Meyer Bisch, 1993).

Directing special attention to the problems of children of minorities is also crucial. Interventions should first aim to alleviate the suffering that children experience as victims of armed conflicts and severe discrimination. As a longer-run objective, however, much wider recognition must be given to the urgency of reaching children, in their homes, schools and communities, in ways that begin to prevent the formation of the attitudes of bigotry and intolerance of difference which, in the adult society, lie behind the violence and injustices we associate with 'discrimination'. We must mobilize, around children, the social solidarity and consensus that ultimately must be developed if we are to address the basic causes of discrimination.

A genuine culture of childhood could help to foster the development of universal values based on shared understanding, on a new *ius gentium*, which, whether set down in writing or not, would transcend all national boundaries.

A Sudanese child waiting to be vaccinated at a UNICEF-assisted children's clinic established in a "Corridor of Peace" in the conflict area

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

References

ALSTON, P. (ed.), *The Best Interests of the Child: Reconciling Culture and Human Rights*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1994.

BADINTER, E., *L'Amour en Plus*, Flammarion, Paris, 1980.

EIDE, A., 'Internal Conflicts under International Law', in Rupesinghe, K. (ed.), *Ethnic Conflict and Human Rights*, The United Nations University, Norwegian University Press, Oslo, 1988.

EIDE, A., *New Approaches to Minority Protection*, Minority Rights Group, London, 1994.

HART, R., 'Children's Participation: From Tokenism to Citizenship', *Innocenti Essays*, No. 4, UNICEF, International Child Development Centre, Florence, 1992.

HYNES, J.R., 'The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child: Three Essays on the Challenge of Implementation', UNICEF, International Child Development Centre, Florence, 1993.

JENKS, C.W., *Human Rights and International Labor Standards*, 1960, quoted in Lerner, N., *Group Rights and Discrimination in International Law*, M. Nijhoff Publishers, Dordrecht, 1991.

LERNER, N., *Group Rights and Discrimination in International Law*, M. Nijhoff Publishers, Dordrecht, 1991.

MARCUSE, H., 'La Tolleranza Repressiva', in *Critica della tolleranza*, Einaudi, Torino, 1968.

MCKEAN, W., *Equality and Discrimination under International Law*, 1983, quoted in Lerner, N., *Group Rights and Discrimination in International Law*, M. Nijhoff Publishers, Dordrecht, 1991.

MEYER-BISCH, P., 'Le piège du droit des minorités', *Le Monde*, 18 February 1993.

PAUL, E., 'The Making of Minorities', in Costarelli, S. (ed.), *Children of Minorities: Gypsies*, UNICEF, International Child Development Centre, Florence, 1993.

PHILLIPS, A., 'Promoting and Implementing the UN Minority Rights Declaration', in Phillips A. and Rosas, A. (eds.), *The UN Minority Rights Declaration*, Turku/Abo, London, 1993.

ROTH, S., 'Toward a Minority Convention: Its Need and Content', in Dinstein, Y. and Tabory, M. (eds.), *The Protection of Minorities and Human Rights*, M. Nijhoff Publishers, Dordrecht, 1992.

RUSSO, V.E., 'The Issue of Discrimination Against Children of Minority Groups and Indigenous Peoples in International Law', unpublished draft dated 3 February 1995, UNICEF, International Child Development Centre, Florence.

STACK, J., JR., *Ethnic Identities in a Transnational World*, 1981, cited by Lerner, N., *Group Rights and Discrimination in International Law*, M. Nijhoff Publishers, Dordrecht, 1991.

STAVENHAGEN, R., 'Preface', in Rupesinghe, K. (ed.), *Ethnic Conflict and Human Rights*, The United Nations University, Norwegian University Press, Oslo, 1988.

STAVENHAGEN, R., *The Ethnic Question: Conflicts, Development and Human Rights*, The United Nations University Press, Tokyo, 1990.

THORNBERRY, P., 'The UN Declaration on ... Minorities: Background, Analysis at I Observations', in Phillips, A., and Rosas, A. (eds.), *The UN Minority Rights Declaration*, Turku/Abo, London, 1993.

UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND, *The State of the World's Children 1995*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1995.

VELTMAN, V.T., *Between the Guns: Children as a Zone of Peace*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1993.

CHILDREN AND FAMILIES OF MINORITY GROUPS

RODOLFO STAVENHAGEN

The International Context

Ethnic minorities are frequently disadvantaged in relation to members of the majority or dominant group, sometimes severely so. In countless instances, and in historical perspective, they enjoy less than equal opportunities, suffer discrimination and marginalization, have lower levels of income and standards of living than other groups, are excluded from decision-making processes and positions of power, and are handicapped in other ways from freely enjoying unrestricted human rights. Moreover, minority peoples are particularly vulnerable to violence and often become the victims of genocides and ethnocides. Over 50 civil conflicts involving distinct ethnic groups are raging or smouldering on the planet today, claiming many millions of lives. By the end of the century, there may well be more than 20 million refugees, most of whom will be members of ethnic minority groups. One recent survey concludes that over 200 politically active communal groups in 93 countries are currently "minorities at risk" (Gurr, 1993).

While recognizing this situation as a serious international problem, the United Nations has taken only cautious steps towards producing legal instruments and protective measures for minorities. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1966, specifically recognizes that members of ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities have a right to special protection (Article 27). The 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child also explicitly provides, within the context of Articles 2, 28, 29 and 30, for the protection needs of children belonging to ethnic and indigenous groups. However, it was only in 1992, after many years of discussion, that the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities. Unlike a convention, a declaration is of course not a legally binding treaty (Phillips and Rosas, 1993). The United Nations Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities is also drafting a Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, but it is not yet clear when it will be adopted by the General Assembly (Brölmann *et al.*, 1993).

Some of the United Nations specialized agencies have produced instruments designed to guarantee and protect the rights of minority groups. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), for example, has adopted a number of resolutions regarding cultural rights, including those of ethnic and linguistic minorities. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) in 1989 adopted Convention No. 169 concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries, a partial revision of its 1957 Convention No. 107. In general, however, the United Nations system has not been prodigal in legal instruments and protective measures for minorities. This is understandable, insofar

as the United Nations is an organization of States, which are jealous of their sovereignty and usually consider that the situation of ethnic and other minorities within their borders is purely an internal matter.

Most regional organizations of States have not done much better than the United Nations in the field of minority protection. The Organization of African Unity deliberately avoided the issue for many years, and so have regional organizations in Asia. The Organization of American States supports a specialized institute for indigenous affairs, but the regional American human rights instruments do not as yet contain specific references to indigenous peoples. Of all regional systems, only Europe has dealt, albeit still far from perfectly, with the question of minority protection on a supranational plane.

Types of Minorities

Most modern countries are multi-ethnic or multinational, and the way in which they deal with inter-ethnic relations impinges upon the situation of minority groups. Such relationships are ordered in a number of different ways, from local-level communal relations, to the workings of the labour market and the economic system, to governmental policies and legislative structures.

Furthermore, minority groups are heterogeneous: their minority status may be based on legal, cultural, religious, linguistic, territorial, biological or national criteria. In general, one may speak of territorial minorities, ethnic and cultural minorities, immigrants and refugees, and indigenous and tribal peoples. In each case, minorities face special problems, and government policies may vary accordingly.

a) ***Territorial minorities*** are those groups whose identity is linked to the traditional occupation of specific regions or territories. Many distinct ethnic groups in Europe are territorially based, such as the Welsh in Britain, the German-speaking Italians in Alto Adige and the Hungarians in Romania. Conflicts between States and territorial ethnic groups have become widespread in recent years: the Kurds in Turkey and Iraq, the Sikhs and Kashmiris in India, the Tamils in northern Sri Lanka, to name a few. The territorial imperative is one of the more powerful factors of ethnic identity around the world, but not the only one of course.

b) ***Ethnic and cultural minorities*** in many countries do not identify with specific territories but tend to maintain their identities through language, religion, culture, national origin or racial characteristics, even as they live dispersed within the wider society. Examples include Gypsies and Jews in Western Europe, Russians in some of the post-Soviet States of Eastern Europe, Muslims in India, and the various ethnic groups from all over the world in the United States.

c) ***Immigrants and refugees*** must be dealt with as distinct groups, because they are identified as temporary residents and are seen as 'outsiders' by established populations. Furthermore, their legal status often singles them out for special treatment by governments, international organizations and non-governmental organizations. Tragically, ethnic refugees are not a passing phenomenon, but rather an increasingly complex problem in today's world. As for transnational immigrants, it was considered common wisdom some decades ago that the end of the colonial expansion of Europe overseas had also marked the end of the era of great world migrations. Migration flows, of course, have been reversed, and growing numbers of Third World migrants continue to arrive at the core of the former colonial empires. This process, which was encouraged during the post-World War Two economic boom, is now considered to be endangering to the stability of Western countries; and the progressive closing of borders by the industrialized States has become a major political and social problem which the international community is not yet dealing with adequately.

Immigrants used to be seen as involved in a process of assimilation to the host country's dominant culture. The success stories of upwardly mobile immigrants, or the relatively painful and complex tribulations of culturally distinct families in new social environments, have been the stuff of literature and cinema for many decades. Nowadays, however, assimilation is no longer fashionable: multiculturalism

is *in*. Immigrant communities increasingly tend to maintain, and indeed to reinforce and reinvent, their particular cultural identities. At the same time, the dominant culture, particularly its most conservative elements, rejects immigrant cultures and tends to maintain them as encapsulated, non-integrated communities. This is an explosive mixture, and the rise of xenophobia and racism in Europe and elsewhere is one of its most dangerous outcomes (European Parliament, 1985).

d) ***Indigenous and tribal peoples*** have always been among the more vulnerable ethnic minorities because of their general poverty and marginalization, the result of a long history of colonialism, oppression and exploitation. However, they did not disappear in the process of modernization, as many scholars expected. On the contrary, they have acquired an important new political presence in the international system, attested to not only by the draft Declaration of Indigenous Rights and ILO Convention No. 169 but also by the designation of 1993 as the United Nations International Year of Indigenous Peoples.

Indigenous peoples generally prefer not to be identified as 'ethnic minorities' in the traditional sense, particularly because in some countries they are in fact numerical majorities, but also because they consider themselves to be the original inhabitants of the territories where they live and have usually been subjected to various forms of colonialism. While other minorities may be involved in processes of assimilation and struggle for equal rights with majorities, indigenous and tribal peoples are jealous of their sovereignty and distinctiveness, and many of them are currently engaged in negotiations with established States, involving different forms of self-determination, self-government and autonomy.

Theoretical Approaches to Minorities

One of the reasons that the United Nations will probably be unable to find enough support among its Member States for a binding international convention on minority rights is that there is no consensus, even among scholars, about the meaning of the term 'minority'. Obviously, we are not talking simply about numbers, but about the social, economic and political status of a given identifiable group within the confines of the State. Thus, in a number of Latin American countries, the Indian population is in fact a numerical majority but it is treated as if it were a minority; that is, a so-called sociological minority. Moreover, when we speak about minorities, we usually refer to bounded groups, which persist over time and which reproduce themselves both biologically and culturally as distinct groups. This is when we may speak about ethnic minorities, as distinct from other kinds of minorities (for example, political groups or sexually identified groups).

However, there is also no agreement about what constitutes an 'ethnic minority', and multiple definitions are, again, used indiscriminately by academics and the general public. Scholars usually distinguish between objective and subjective elements, and adopt a number of competing approaches to the study of ethnicity:

a) ***Primordialism***. Some authors refer to ethnicity as a kind of kinship and to the ethnic group as an extended kin group. Kinship may be a real bond, based on blood ties, but usually it is fictitious, deriving more from shared beliefs about supposed common ancestry. Founding myths and stories are passed on from generation to generation and strengthen the bonds and identities of those who hold them dear. The important element is that even if kinship is fictitious, the members of an ethnic group assume it as if it were real (Isaacs, 1975).

This primordialist position is taken to extremes under the recent influence of sociobiology. Some authors contend that ethnicity is grounded in genetics. Persons who share a certain number of genes (it is not said how many nor which) will bond together as an ethnic group and seek to reproduce these genes as efficiently as possible. This is achieved through the endogamy of the ethnic group, leading to a process of genetic selection which ensures greater opportunity for the survival of the group (Van den Berghe, 1981).

b) ***Culturalism***. Beyond genetic imperatives and primal bonding instincts in humans,

ethnic groups are sometimes defined by their persistence over time and their capacity for biological and cultural reproduction. Why and how do people bond in this fashion, not only at any one time with other members of the group, but also, more importantly, with past and future generations?

One explanation is provided by the idea of culture. Ethnic identity and continuity is maintained as a result of the transmission within the group (through the processes of socialization, education and internalization of values) of the basic norms and customs that form the central core of the ethnic culture (De Vos and Romanucci-Ross, 1982; Royce, 1982; Smith, 1981).

Cultural patterns gradually vary over the years, but this does not affect the 'core' culture, which continues to be reproduced and transmitted from generation to generation through shared norms and values. This dual process explains both the diversity and the persistence of ethnic groups in time and space. It is through the mechanisms of cultural reproduction that the basic norms that structure the life of the group are defined. People 'belong' to a culture, are bounded by it and distinguish themselves from others who belong to other cultures. Inherent in the notion of culture is the concept of ethnocentrism, or the insiders' belief that they are innately superior to outsiders. The 'we' and 'they' approach to inter-ethnic relations is fraught with potential conflict. If the outsider is seen as inherently dangerous, if the 'other' is feared, despised, excluded or dehumanized; or conversely, if the 'we' group is thought to be threatened, its survival endangered and its existence as a group undermined by the 'other', then conditions for conflict are given. Whether conflict will actually emerge depends on the presence of so-called triggering mechanisms. The tenuous relationship between latent and open conflict has not been theoretically elucidated.

c) ***Ethnic boundaries***. Anthropologists have learned that ethnic groups are not defined by the content of their culture alone; indeed, some would argue that cultural content is actually irrelevant. What appears to be more significant is boundary-formation through social organization, that complex web of relationships whereby groups are formed, bounded and defined, and by means of which individuals become included or excluded. Thus membership in an ethnic group may be strengthened by self-attribution and the exclusion of others, or else by attribution and being excluded by others. Religious minorities, for example, are often linked through strong internal bonds and the rejection of those who do not belong. In contrast, racial minorities are frequently identified and excluded by others through processes of discrimination and racism, even when they wish to belong.

Ethnic group boundaries may be rigid and fixed, or they may be permeable and flexible. In either case, the presence or absence of conflict is not easily deduced — strong and weak boundaries alike may either deter conflicts or induce them, depending on the circumstances (Barth, 1969).

d) ***Ethnic ecology***. Ethnic groups are often linked to specific territories and habitats. Moreover, in complex modern societies they may occupy particular economic or occupational positions (such as middlemen, craftsmen or agricultural labourers). When competition arises among ethnic groups over such 'ecological niches', various forms of conflict may ensue. It has been argued that ecological competition over scarce resources is usually the root cause of ethnic conflicts. This model, unlike other explanatory approaches, may be tested empirically with quantitative measurements and may have predictive value (Banton, 1983).

e) ***Structuralism***. From another viewpoint, ethnic groups are groups placed in asymmetrical relationships to other groups within the framework of historically given social and economic formations. They occupy different positions in the wider system as well as in scales of wealth and power. Accordingly, the cultural characteristics of ethnic groups are seen to be a response to the challenges raised by certain kinds of social and economic relations among different populations.

This structuralist approach has been found to be particularly useful in the study of inter-ethnic relations in two distinct types of situations. First of all, within the framework of colonialism, there is the situation in which colonizer and colonized face each other as dominant and subordinate groups. The ethnic (cultural and biological) characteristics of the opposing groups become emblematic in the functioning and maintenance of the system of colonial exploitation and domination. Racism, other forms of discrimination and the cultural categorization of the population contribute to perpetuating and accentuating ethnic differences that turn into markers of inequality and stratification. When such a situation prevails in the post-colonial period, it can be referred to as internal colonialism (Stavenhagen, 1990; Hechter, 1975).

Secondly, the structuralist approach can also further understanding of the dynamics of immigrant societies where ethnically distinct groups become integrated differentially into new social and economic structures. These groups are, in turn, categorized racially and culturally in answer to the needs of a segmented and fragmented labour market. There is thus a cultural division of labour; that is, the pattern whereby cultural differences among ethnic groups determine the nature of their members' insertion in the labour market (and therefore their access to resources and economic and social goods). But this differential insertion (which is the result of historical processes) in turn reinforces the cultural characteristics of the group. This approach underlines the fact that ethnic identities as well as inter-ethnic relations depend to a great extent on the structural context in which they occur (Miles, 1982).

f) ***Instrumentalism***. That the ethnic identities of groups may be the result of certain historically given economic and social structures is a persuasive argument in some contexts. However, it does not explain the variability of the ethnic phenomenon, why some groups assume their ethnicity more intensely than others, or why some ethnically based movements last longer and are more successful than others. Some scholars look for answers to these questions in the motivations and behaviour of individuals. Rational choice theory, derived from economics, states that individuals will act rationally to obtain their valued ends and maximize their benefits. If emphasizing their ethnicity will further these objectives, then rational individuals will be impelled to do so. This theory would explain why some individuals opt for ethnicity to achieve their individual ends, whereas others reject or ignore it. To the extent that individual action is motivated by maximization of utilities or individual benefits, it may or may not coincide with the aims or objectives of the group. Ethnic groups are said to have collective interests (the sum of the individual interests of their members), and they compete for them among themselves in a rational and calculated manner (resources, power, prestige, wealth). Consequently, ethnicity as a variable is seen as the result of the rational interests of the members of the group; it is 'something' that can be taken or discarded by choice.

Some group leaders use ethnic symbols and identities to further specific rational political and economic ends. Ethnicity then becomes a means to an end rather than a value on its own terms. This instrumentalist interpretation of ethnicity can help us to understand certain aspects of ethnic relations and conflicts, but it can hardly tell us why ethnic identities are effectively mobilized in some instances but not in others (Hechter, 1985).

g) ***Post-modernism***. Finally, a currently fashionable way of dealing with ethnicity is to deny any 'reality' to ethnic groups as such. What seems to be more important is the 'discourse' on ethnicity; that is, the way people 'invent' or 'construct' their ethnicity or that of others. This may be the result of political imperatives or ideological preferences, but once a 'discourse' or a 'narrative' is generated and becomes legitimized to some extent, it exerts considerable influence on the dynamics of ethnic relations and on human behaviour. In the whirlpools of ethnic conflict, ethnicities certainly become constructed, reconstructed and deconstructed, but this can hardly be done out of thin air, if there are no pre-existing cul-

tural identities to construct. Thus, ethnic conflicts can be analysed as a form of discourse, and the analysis of the discourse of conflict can tell us much about the conflict itself (Gilroy, 1987; Lemarchand, 1993).

Ethnic Identities

A recurrent question relating to ethnicity is the formation and persistence of something called an 'ethnic identity'. The mere existence among members of an identifiable ethnic group of shared attributes such as language, religion, biological features or national origin is apparently not always enough to fire the common ethnic imagination, let alone trigger ethnic conflict and violence. But how and why does ethnic identity, as a subjectively perceived factor, become such a mobilizing force?

One explanation can be found in identification theory (Bloom, 1990). Children from an early age identify with their parents, internalizing certain values and attitudes. As they grow, they develop an image of the 'self' that they share with other individuals in the family, the locality and the community. This shared identity reinforces their individual sense of identity and provides them with a sense of well-being. It also enables them, as adults, to navigate their social environment. In contrast, a lack of a secure sense of identity will lead to an 'identity crisis', and sometimes to personality breakdown. Individuals, then, will tend to find support and strength for their individual sense of identity in ideologies and cultures. Consequently, a threat to ideology or culture is a threat to identity; and, equally, an enhancement of ideology or culture enhances identity.

Inasmuch as most, if not all, identities are social (that is, shared with other individuals), group identifications become crucial in maintaining cohesive social systems, and this creates the potential for the group to act together to enhance and protect that shared identity. As individuals become socially and politically active, identifications transcend the immediate

A young street boy eks out a living in Ecuador.

family or locality, and are made with more diffuse symbolic entities, such as the ethnic group, the religious community, the social class or the nation. Identification theory may help us understand why Hutu and Tutsi in Burundi and Rwanda, Blacks and Indians in Guyana, Sinhala and Tamils in Sri Lanka, Blacks and Whites in Bristol, and Serbs, Croats and Muslims in Bosnia behave the way they do in specific contexts. This last condition is important because group identifications only occur within the same environmental circumstances.

This brief survey of some of the principal theoretical approaches currently used to analyse the ethnic question does not do justice to their complexity. Although they may appear exclusive, these different orientations are generally complementary. There is no general theory that can account for all aspects of the 'ethnic question'. This is in part because ethnic problems are extremely complex and in part because the same terminology often refers to different types of phenomena (Rex and Mason, 1986; Casiño, 1985).

Children and Minorities: Challenges for Research

Research has shown that when ethnic minorities are vulnerable as a group, then the families, the women, the youth and the children of such minorities will be particularly disadvantaged. Some general factors may be suggested to explain why this should be so.

In male-centred societies (the world's majority), women and children are traditionally subordinated to adult men. In periods of social upheaval, when longstanding social structures disintegrate under the pressures of modernization, urbanization, industrialization and the market economy, economic and social rewards in the labour market accrue mainly to the male, often separated from his family. Women, and particularly children, will be left to fend for themselves to a great extent. Impelled by economic need, women who enter the labour market in disadvantageous positions will be hard-pressed to provide sufficient attention to their children. Children may likewise be forced to work, often in the vast and unregulated informal economy. The drama of the world's 'street children' has become an issue of worldwide concern (Agnelli, 1986; Boyden, 1991; Szanton Blanc, 1994).

This pattern, which repeats itself regularly in Third World countries as well as in the inner cities of the industrialized world, is particularly skewed against minorities. They either become marginalized territorially (as in the case of indigenous peoples) or they become 'ghettoized' in cities. As long as they avoid formulating their needs and demands in political terms, these minorities pose little threat to the powers that be. However, when they become 'visible' and 'vocal', then they become a 'problem'. When this occurs, minorities are usually blamed for their own predicaments — the victims become the villains. The solution, it is said, lies with the minorities themselves, in their attitudes and traditions, their family structures, their ability and 'willingness' to adapt, rather than with government or the dominant society or the functioning of the 'system'. Some examples will illustrate these tendencies.

In Germany and elsewhere in Western Europe, the children of the 'guest workers' (*gastarbeiter*) of the 1950s and 1960s now constitute new ethnic minorities with special problems. One study reports that migration and the conditions of inner-city, working class life often lead to considerable stress for foreign families. The effects on children's mental development, social relationships and school success are often negative. This report argues that the special educational problems of foreign children and the inadequacy of official measures to cope with them lead to severe educational handicaps (Castles, 1984). These points are substantiated in later chapters relating to immigrant children in Italy.

In the United Kingdom, analyses of recent urban riots have shown that institutional racism can strengthen the identity of a Black youth culture, which the dominant Whites perceive as dangerous and destabilizing. This leads, in turn, to the 'criminalization' of all ethnic groups identified as 'Blacks'. It is in this environment that all issues involving families, youth and children

of minorities must be resolved (Gilroy, 1987; Cohen and Bains, 1988). Discrimination is particularly evident in the school system. The educational 'failure' of Black children is constantly being assessed; underachievement is assumed and then tested to be proven. Moreover, although most of today's Black schoolchildren were born in the United Kingdom, educational policy and practice actually consider them as an alien group that present 'problems' that are external to 'normal' schooling (Carby, 1982).

The Gypsy population in Europe has been marginalized and persecuted for centuries and was singled out together with the Jews for genocide by the Nazi regime in Germany. A recent UNICEF study concludes: "The underprivileged social situation of

Discrimination has led to "isolation, loneliness, sadness, anger, hopelessness and pain" amongst whole indigenous societies

Assimilation and Multiculturism: The Case of Indigenous Children

World attention was drawn to the genocide of the Aché Indians in Paraguay in the 1970s (Münzel, 1973). Today, despite international concern, the attack on indigenous peoples continues in the form of ethnocide. Their lifestyles and cultures are being destroyed through coercive policies of change and assimilation.

One evangelical group from the United States has reportedly forced Indian children to attend missionary schools, where they are taught "passivity and submission, conformism and resignation — those fundamental Christian values used to support the expansion of internal colonialism and the acceptance of exploitation. [This kind of education] manages, many times, to cover up misery with the ancient myth of the congenial laziness of indigenous people and to conceal worldly injustice with promises of a remote celestial justice" (Escobar, 1989).

In Canada, the residential school system for many decades separated Native children from their parents and extended families, eliminating "familiar social rituals that helped establish a sense of security and safety. The schools ... changed ideology and beliefs. By cutting children off from their communities, the schools effectively cut off access to traditional teachings about living on the land and having respect for all creatures." There was also verbal abuse and sexual violence against indigenous children: "The violence affected not only individual children, but also whole families and future generations. ... If you subject one generation of children to physical and verbal abuse and they become adults and have children, and then you subject that generation and a third generation to a residential school system, you have a whole society affected by isolation, loneliness, sadness, anger, hopelessness and pain" (Hodgson, 1992).

In eastern Ecuador, residential schools were also the standard way of educating the children of the lowland Shuar Indians. "To obtain any education, Shuar children had to attend boarding schools established by Salesian missionaries in one of about 13 urban mission stations, usually at least three to five days' walk from home. While they learned to read and write for years in these enclosed quarters, they lost the chance to pick up the sort of Shuar history and culture that is transmitted orally and irregularly by elders as the families cluster around the hearth in the early morning and late evening. Nor could the children practice gardening, hunting, fishing or any of the other essential aspects of life in the tropical forest. ... So to become 'educated', children could easily miss the opportunity of becoming Shuar ..." (Macdonald, 1986).

Today, Shuar Indian children are participating in an interesting example of bilingual and bicultural education. In the absence of schools, a bilingual-bicultural radio school has been established. "Inaugurated in 1972, the radio school now broadcasts to nearly 4,000 elementary school students and about 1,000 secondary students. The daily programs are developed by a planning unit of about 10 Shuar with advanced degrees in education. The lessons they prepare are transmitted by two to four teachers, *telemaestros*, and by *teleauxiliares* in the schools" (Ibid.).

Gypsy children begins at birth, with the disadvantaged conditions they are born into. Material deprivation, particularly in the areas of health and accommodation, which was originally the result of social deprivation, has over time become the main perpetuating force of their hardship. ... This 'marginality cycle' reproduces many of the aspects of disadvantaged child life associated with 'street children'..." (Costarelli, 1993).

In some parts of India, the Adivasi population ('scheduled tribes') tends to show higher rates of illiteracy and lower educational attainment than the rest of the regional population (Khoi, 1991). The situation of the more than 105 million Harijans (Untouchables) is also dramatic. Despite affirmative action policies over the last decades and notable educational progress, Harijan literacy rates are half those of the rest of the Indian population. Moreover, only 75 per cent of 6- to 11-year-olds and 25 per cent of the 11- to 14-year-olds are in school, compared with 88 per cent and 42 per cent, respectively, of non-Harijan children (Joshi, 1986).

Throughout the world, indigenous populations suffer severe forms of oppression and exploitation (ICIHI, 1987). Indigenous children and youth in particular must cope with the stress of cultural change, the breakdown of traditional society and the challenge of adaptation to modern ways. A recent report on Mexico's Indian population underlines the 'pathology of poverty' associated with indigenous children (Hernández, 1993). In Australia, young Aboriginals have been arrested,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

tried without due process of law, and some have died while in detention, according to a dramatic appeal made at the 1988 session of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations (Boyle, 1988). In the Canadian Arctic, a wave of suicides among indigenous youths was attributed to unemployment. As a result of international boycotts in the 1980s, the local trade in mink skins was destroyed and the economy nearly paralysed. Indigenous youths feel that there is no work and nowhere else to go (IWGIA, 1988).

A tragic consequence of ethnic conflicts in the world has been the victimization of children. Whether it is in the Palestinian *Intifada* or in numerous guerrilla movements and wars of liberation around the world, or in the urban gang wars of the industrialized world, children and adolescents are at the forefront of the action. They are killed, wounded, orphaned, displaced or made refugees during conflicts, but they are also active participants of military organizations, trained killers and support elements of governmental or opposition troops. Especially worrying are the psychological wounds that survivors will carry into their later lives (Willigen, 1993). The accumulated pain, resentment and hatred that will be borne by the children caught up in the whirlpools of ethnic strife should be a warning to us all. Solutions to ethnic conflicts, as well as their management and possible prevention, will necessarily have to deal with such problems, yet they are not usually discussed when peace-making and peace-building are debated.

At a time when the international community has become more sensitive to the issues of minorities and indigenous peoples, as expressed in the development of new human rights instruments in the United Nations and regional inter-governmental organizations, and when, at the same time, violent ethnic conflicts break out with disastrous consequences in various parts of the world, it is imperative that more attention be paid to the particularly vulnerable position of children, youth and families of these groups. More research in this field is needed to guide policies that will contribute to lessening human suffering and to improving the life chances of future generations.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

References

AGNELLI, S., *Street Children: A Growing Urban Tragedy*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1986.

BANTON, M., *Racial and Ethnic Competition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983.

BARTH, F., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, 1969.

BLOOM, W., *Personal Identity, National Identity and International Relations*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990.

BOYDEN, J. (with Holden, P.), *Children of the Cities*, Zed Books, London, 1991.

BOYLE, H., 'Australia: Aboriginal Appeal to the World', IWGIA Newsletter, No. 53-54, 1988.

BROLMANN, C. *et al.*, *Peoples and Minorities in International Law*, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, Dordrecht, 1993.

CARBY, H.V., 'Schooling in Babylon', in Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (ed.), *The Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in 70s Britain*, Hutchinson, London, 1982.

CASINO, E.S., 'The Parameters of Ethnicity Research', in Riggs, F.W. (ed.), *Ethnicity: Intercoda Glossary — Concepts and Terms used in Ethnicity Research*, International Social Science Council, Honolulu, 1985.

CASTLES, S., with Booth, H. and Wallace, T., *Here for Good: Western Europe's New Ethnic Minorities*, Pluto Press, London, 1984.

COHEN, P. and BAINS, H.S., *Multi-Racist Britain*, Macmillan, London, 1988.

COSTAREELLI, S., *Children of Minorities: Gypsies*, UNICEF, International Child Development Centre, Florence, 1993.

DE VOS, G. and ROMANUCCI-ROSS, L., *Ethnic Identity: Cultural Continuities and Change*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1982.

ESCOBAR, T., 'Ethnocide: Mission Accomplished?', *IWGIA Documents*, International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, Copenhagen, 1989.

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, *Committee of Inquiry into the Rise of Fascism and Racism in Europe: Report on the Findings of the Inquiry*, European Parliament, Brussels, 1985.

GILROY, P., 'There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack': *The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1987.

GURR, T.R., *Minorities at Risk: A Global View of Ethnopolitical Conflicts*, United States Institute of Peace Press, Washington, D.C., 1993.

HECHTER, M., *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1975.

HECHTER, M., 'Rational Choice Theory and the Study of Race and Ethnic Relations', in Rex, J. and Mason, D. (eds.), *Theories of Race and Ethnic Relations*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985.

HERNANDEZ, R., *Situacion de la niñez indigena en México*, Fideicomiso para la Salud de los Niños Indigenas de México, Mexico City, 1993.

HODGSON, M., 'Rebuilding Community after the Residential School Experience', in Engelstad, D. and Bird, J. (eds.), *Nation to Nation: Aboriginal Sovereignty and the Future of Canada*, House of Anansi Press, Ontario, 1992.

ICIHI, Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues, *Indigenous Peoples: A Global Quest for Justice*, Zed Books, London, 1987.

ISAACS, H.R., *Idols of the Tribe*, Harper and Row, New York, 1975.

IWGIA, International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 'Canada: Suicides Among Indigenous Youths', *IWGIA Newsletter*, Nos. 53-54, 1988.

JOSHI, B.R., *Untouchable! Voices of the Dalit Liberation Movement*, Zed Books Ltd., London, 1986.

KHOI, LE THAN, 'For or With Young People: The Asian Perspective', in Touraine, A. (ed.), *Young People and Unemployment around the World*, UNESCO, Paris, 1991.

LEMARCHAND, R., *Burundi: Genocide as Discourse and Practice*, UNRISD, Geneva, 1993.

MACDONALD, JR., T., 'Shuar Children: Bilingual-Bicultural Education', *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 4, 1986.

MILES, R., *Racism and Migrant Labour*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1982.

MUNZEL, M., *The Aché Indians: Genocide in Paraguay*, International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, Copenhagen, 1973.

PHILLIPS, A. and ROSAS, A. (eds.), *The UN Minority Rights Declaration*, Abo Akademi University Institute for Human Rights and Minority Rights Group (International), Turku and London, 1993.

REX, J. and MASON, D., *Theories of Race and Ethnic Relations*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1986.

ROYCE, A.P., *Ethnic Identity: Strategies of Diversity*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1982.

SMITH, A.D., *The Ethnic Revival in the Modern World*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981.

STAVENHAGEN, R., *The Ethnic Question: Conflicts, Development and Human Rights*, United Nations University Press, Tokyo, 1990.

SZANTON BLANC, C. *et al.*, *Urban Children in Distress: Global Predicaments and Innovative Strategies*, Gordon and Breach Scientific Publications, New York, in association with UNICEF, International Child Development Centre, Florence, 1994.

VAN DEN BERGHE, P., *The Ethnic Phenomenon*, Greenwood, USA, 1981.

WILLIGEN, L. VAN, *Health Hazards of Organized Violence in Children*, Pharos Foundation, Utrecht, 1993.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

This young Bulgarian toddler, like the vast majority of Gypsy children in Europe, is born into poverty and marginalization

PANEL 1

SO WHAT IS NEW?

In this reprint of an article that appeared in the UNICEF International Child Development Centre Innocenti Update *in May 1994, Robert Smith, Executive Director of the United Kingdom National Committee for UNICEF, points out that, just as concerted and determined action led to the elimination of polio and measles, the broad mobilization of all sectors of society can reduce discrimination and intolerance, providing there is the will to do so.*

Discrimination and intolerance are problems that today are regrettably forcing themselves on the attention and impinging on the efforts of almost all who work in the social sector and, above all, those who work for the international humanitarian organizations and the agencies of the United Nations. The latter in particular are finding themselves drawn into dangerous and largely uncharted territory, into situations of serious, seemingly intractable argument and conflict, where the freedom to operate 'on all sides, without let or hindrance' is no longer guaranteed. 'Clan warfare' and 'ethnic cleansing' are some of the ugly terms used to describe what has been happening in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Iraq, Somalia, Burundi, Rwanda, Sri Lanka, former Yugoslavia, and elsewhere.

Such conflicts are not new, but they are on an unprecedented scale in number and ferocity. Nor are they confined to developing nations or poorer countries alone — though they certainly flourish in deprived, disadvantaged communities and feed on the hatred, envy and suspicion created by lack of services and resources, by poverty and inequality. Ironically, it is the more privileged majority in most cases who feel threatened by, and therefore oppress, the disenfranchised minority. In other cases, a privileged minority exercises power and wealth to oppress a politically weak majority.

Widespread racism perpetuates discrimination and results in unequal access to services for children from minority ethnic communities. As is increasingly shown by research, children in minority ethnic families are most likely to experience poor health and inadequate housing, live in low-income households, be affected by unemployment and have parents who are unemployed. They are disproportionately likely to miss out on schooling and to have problems with the law.

The pessimist would say that ethnic discrimination and cultural domination have been around since man (or woman) first stood upright. Next door to the Innocenti Centre in Florence is a marvelous, but tantalizingly incomplete, archeological museum — a memorial to the Etruscans, whose culture was almost totally obliterated and who were subjugated, absorbed and in effect eliminated by the Romans. King Herod in the story of the Massacre of the Innocents had a similar aim.

So what is new? And why should UNICEF and its partners in the humanitarian field become involved in these often political, highly difficult and sensitive areas? Well, peace and international security are deeply bound up with and dependent on the resolution of these issues. And equally new is the context of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and the World Summit for Children Declaration and its major goals, which between them now provide a combination of moral, legally binding and specific practical injunctions for all those involved in the field of child welfare.

Moreover, the urgency of the need to combat this grotesque flowering of xenophobia and intolerance is accompanied by a much higher level of world awareness and concern than has ever before been possible, simply because of advances in communications technology. And I believe there is a new passion and interest on the part of young people. These provide an opportunity to bring together some of the most basic and essential elements within the Convention — the respect for differences and the right to equality — with the subjects of the Convention, children and young people, as the agents themselves for transforming principle into practice. There is a requirement to act; there is a legitimacy in action, with the Convention now ratified or signed by 90 per cent of the Governments of the world; and there exists the means through which to bring about change.

What young people themselves have said and expressed in situations of stress and conflict is more striking and moving than any amount of adult commentary. There is hope in the words and images, the eyes and the minds of children. The ➡

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

plea made a few years ago by the children of Lebanon has recently been echoed even more powerfully through the publication by UNICEF of *I Dream of Peace*, the drawings and writings of children in former Yugoslavia, in a dozen language editions across the world. What has eventually resulted, especially through the Education for Peace programme in Lebanon, may, we must hope, become a possibility in former Yugoslavia, too. What has been achieved in El Salvador or in Sri Lanka, through children, could be repeated and must somehow be attempted now in Rwanda.

But the challenge applies as strongly to the industrialized world and therefore to UNICEF's National Committees in those countries as to anyone. Apart from the importance of the task itself, there are significant benefits in such action, in the enhancement of UNICEF's credibility in countries where it has no 'regular' programme of work, and in the development of respect out of cooperation with other domestic organizations in the voluntary and the official sectors. It calls for UNICEF to adopt a higher profile in the industrialized countries, for greater outspokenness and fulfilment of the role of advocate for children everywhere. Our objective should be no less than the mobilization of the whole of our society, politicians, press, artists and educators, people — but above all, children — to eradicate the scourge of intolerance from the face of the earth, with no less commitment than that devoted to campaigns to eliminate polio or measles. The means are to hand. As with other goals adopted by Governments for the year 2000, all it needs is the will. ■

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

GYPSY AND TRAVELLER COMMUNITIES

JEAN-PIERRE LIÉGEOIS

Stereotypes and Rejection

Different images of Gypsies and Travellers have been formed over the centuries and have gradually combined and crystallized as stereotypes. These preconceived, simplified conceptions stand in the way of a genuine understanding of Gypsies and their cultures. They are, moreover, at the root of the widely differing attitudes and behaviours that society has towards these ethnic minorities.

The least negative stereotype of Gypsies is derived from folklore, the romantic image of the carefree wanderer. Other images evoke compassion. When assimilation policies prevail, Gypsies tend to be viewed as 'socially handicapped', an 'underprivileged class' or 'disadvantaged'. They are also seen as an anachronism, their economic, social and cultural patterns assumed to be merely vestiges of earlier coping strategies that no longer have cause to exist. Government officials, in particular, seem to find it difficult to believe that Gypsies do not share the motivations, concerns and priorities of the majority culture.

At the farthest extreme are attitudes that are subtly or even openly hostile. In most countries, representations of Gypsies in the media are doubly negative. Not only do reports emphasize the day-to-day hardships Gypsy families face, but often they use terms that are so disparaging that the reader is left with an impression that Gypsies are undesirable, responsible for their own difficulties, and, above all, the cause of an infinite number of society's problems. From these images to the categorical rejection of Gypsies is only a short step.

The recent upsurge in such negative media images is particularly dangerous. A 'bad press' heightens discrimination and prejudice, and so increases the risk of conflict and even violence. This becomes a vicious circle as violence breeds violence, and the implicit consent on the part of society both inspires and legitimizes this violence. Moreover, an overexposure to negative images of Gypsies makes the public indifferent to their situation. Nothing about Gypsies can shock or astonish any longer. A lack of reaction can gradually lead to a lack of resistance and even to a breakdown of democracy.

Examples of the failure of democratic safeguards in the treatment of Gypsies abound. When, for example, local authorities evacuate Gypsy campsites or displace entire groups of Gypsies, they are penalizing the collective unit rather than a given individual suspected of illegal behaviour. Adopting and sanctioning a general policy towards a group or community is unconstitutional in most nations. This is the case even when — as often happens when Gypsies are involved — the emphasis is placed on legal provisions relating to public order, public health or public security, because these provisions should only be applicable to individuals. Such acts are also contrary to the legally binding standards contained in major international conventions.

The population of the Gypsy community in Europe is estimated to be between 7 million and 8.5 million, figures that are destined to increase because of the young age of Gypsy communities. Most demographic studies show that half of the members of Gypsy communities are below 16 years of age.

▶ Approximate Numbers of Gypsies and Travellers in Europe

Country	Estimated Population	
	Minimum	Maximum
Albania	90,000	100,000
Austria	20,000	25,000
Belarus	10,000	15,000
Belgium	10,000	15,000
Bosnia-Herzegovina	40,000	50,000
Bulgaria	700,000	800,000
Croatia	30,000	40,000
Cyprus	1,500	2,000
Czech Republic	250,000	300,000
Denmark	1,500	2,000
Estonia	1,000	1,500
Finland	7,000	9,000
France	280,000	340,000
Germany	110,000	130,000
Greece	160,000	200,000
Hungary	550,000	600,000
Ireland	22,000	28,000
Italy	90,000	110,000
Latvia	2,000	3,500
Lithuania	3,000	4,000
Luxembourg	100	150
Macedonia	220,000	260,000
Moldavia	20,000	25,000
Netherlands	35,000	40,000
Norway	500	1,000
Poland	40,000	50,000
Portugal	40,000	50,000
Romania	1,800,000	2,500,000
Russia	220,000	400,000
Serbia-Montenegro	400,000	450,000
Slovak Republic	480,000	520,000
Slovenia	8,000	10,000
Spain	650,000	800,000
Sweden	15,000	20,000
Switzerland	30,000	35,000
Turkey	300,000	500,000
Ukraine	50,000	60,000
United Kingdom	90,000	120,000
Europe (approximate)	7,000,000	8,500,000

Source: Gypsy Research Centre, Universite Rene Descartes, Paris

Minimum legal safeguards are essential to enable Gypsies to move freely within States, to stop at halting sites, to exercise their trades, to educate their children and to develop their culture. No substantial legislative changes would appear to be needed to guarantee these safeguards. The law in most European countries is, in fact, generally more on the side of Gypsies than on that of the authorities who exercise real or symbolic violence against them. Changes are instead urgently required in the arbitrary way these laws are interpreted and implemented, and in the profusion of petty and sometimes contradictory regulations that are applied in cases involving Gypsies.

Gypsy-related Policies

Relations between Gypsies and non-Gypsies have always been difficult. Gypsies were viewed as intruders as soon as they set foot in Europe more than five centuries ago. As homeless nomads, they provoked distrust and fear among the settled populations. Local rejection quickly spread and eventually was reflected in national policies. These policies can be divided into three categories:

- ***Exclusion policies:*** Gypsies are removed from sight through expulsion from a given territory. Exclusion policies can also involve physical removal. Gypsies have, for instance, been shipped off to populate colonies. Like the Jews, they were victims of the Holocaust, deported to Nazi concentration camps and exterminated in gas chambers.
- ***Reclusion policies:*** Gypsies are confined in given territories, and their communities and families broken up.
- ***Inclusion policies:*** Gypsies are assimilated into the dominant culture, in which case their disappearance is cultural. They are seen as marginalized people who pose social problems; they are controlled, not forbidden; assimilated, not rejected. This type of policy has been particularly popular since the 1950s. To some, assimilation policies are a form of ethnocide (Liégeois, 1983 and 1994).

Generally, these three categories may be viewed as a chronological sequence, but they may also coexist: the will to assimilate may coexist with the desire to exclude. Because

none of these policies has yielded the expected results and the situation is clearly deteriorating, authorities are no longer certain of the best policy to follow. This may be viewed positively because their indecision and self-questioning may pave the way for innovative policies and more equitable practices in the future.

Developing Action

The situation of Gypsies, therefore, has deep historical and ideological roots, and prevailing attitudes are difficult to eradicate as they are such an integral part of the history of policies and ideas. It is in this context that measures introduced, particularly by international organizations, need to be evaluated.

International organizations stand above the age-long conflicts between state or local authorities and Gypsies. They have both the ability and the responsibility to promote innovative policies, and it is also appropriate that they do so because they share the *de facto* transnationality of the Gypsy communities.

The European Union

The European Parliament has in the past decade adopted a number of resolutions directly relating to Gypsies. A resolution on 'Children of Parents of No Fixed Abode' (1984) emphasizes the need for appropriate educational policies for nomad children. A resolution concerning the 'Situation of Gypsies in the Community' (1984) recommends greater intercountry coordination on Gypsy affairs and Community-subsidized programmes that benefit Gypsies while respecting their cultural values.

Following these resolutions, the Commission conducted a study on the schooling of Gypsy children in Europe. Its findings are

In Italy in 1990, only 35 per cent of the school-aged Gypsy population attended school more or less regularly.

summarized in the report *School Provision for Gypsy and Traveller Children*, which was widely circulated (Liégeois, 1987). One result of this project was the resolution concerning the 'Schooling of Gypsy Children' (1989), a historic step forward for the Gypsy community. The resolution acknowledges that Gypsies have contributed to the cultural and linguistic patrimony of Europe for more than five centuries, and it emphasizes the need to defend this heritage.

Since the 1989 resolution was adopted, Member States have increasingly promoted educational measures targeting Gypsy children. The European Parliament has provided financial support for these measures through the introduction, in 1991, of a budget line on 'Intercultural Education'. A portion of these funds is specifically earmarked for Gypsy children.

In accordance with the 1989 resolution's recommendation that a "global structural approach" be adopted, Member States have developed three main types of measures to date:

- *innovative projects*. European networks of pilot projects have been established to meet the needs of the different partners. Specific networks have been formed on the subjects of secondary education, the transition from school to working life, distance learning, teaching materials, and the training of Gypsy ombudsmen. Working groups have been set up on Gypsy history and languages. These groups are mainly involved in the design, preparation and dissemination of teaching materials for use in schools or for teacher training. However, they also take an active part in networking and database development and serve as expert groups for the various partners.
- *information and documentation*. The report *School Provision for Gypsy and Traveller Children* has been published in five languages. *Interface*, a quarterly newsletter started in 1991, is regularly published in four languages. It documents and analyses innovative initiatives undertaken within the European Union, and provides information on key documents prepared by international bodies. A European documentary database has been developed that will facilitate the provision of various types of information.
- *conferences*. Conferences have involved representatives of Ministries of Education, Gypsy experts, teachers, trainers and heads of projects. The exchange of teaching material has been promoted.

The Council of Europe

The Council of Europe has long shown interest in the situation of Gypsy children. Its Recommendation 563 (1969) drew attention to the plight of Gypsies in Europe. Its Resolution 13 (1975), on the social situation of nomadic populations in Europe, addressed both general policy matters and specific issues related to Gypsies, such as encampments and housing, education, vocational guidance and training, health and social measures, and social security. The resolution requests Member States to report to the Council of Europe "in due course" on the measures taken in connection with the resolution. It would be appropriate at this stage, two decades after the adoption of the resolution, to examine the Member States' reports.

Resolution 125 (1981) seeks to define the role and responsibilities of local and regional authorities in relation to Gypsy communities. In response to this resolution, seminars were held in 1983 and 1987 in Donaueschingen, Federal Republic of Germany, nominally to examine teacher training and the schooling of Gypsy children, but which went far beyond these topics to forge new ways of thinking about the issue of Gypsies in general. Another outcome of the resolution was the book *Gypsies and Travellers*, commissioned by the Council and published in several languages (Liégeois, 1985). This book is primarily aimed at teachers, trainers, school inspectors and administrative staff, but it is also of interest to local and regional authorities. A second edition, containing updated sociocultural and sociopolitical data, was published in 1994.

In collaboration with the French Ministry of Education, the Council published a report on a meeting organized by the French Gypsy Research Centre in 1988, *Gypsy Children at*

School: The Training of Teachers and Other Staff. It also organized a seminar in Benidorm, Spain, in 1989 entitled 'Towards Intercultural Education: The Training of Teachers with Gypsy Students', and a seminar in Aix-en-Provence, France, in 1990 on 'Distance Learning and Pedagogical Follow-Up'. A Council of Europe meeting was held in 1991 in Strasbourg, France, which brought together more than 100 delegates from 12 European States, East and West. One of its conclusions was that Gypsies and other groups like them, "who, while claiming a common origin (religious, ethnic, cultural or linguistic), differ through the centuries-old links which they have established with various European States, constitute a dynamic positive factor for Europe because they combine the two fundamental principles which form the basis of any European goal, namely the maintenance of State-based identities and diversity, and the endeavour to achieve closer unity".

Finally, the Council's Human Rights Division is becoming increasingly interested in the situation currently faced by Gypsies throughout Europe, both East and West. Violence and discrimination know no borders.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)

Conferences of the Human Dimension, organized by CSCE, were held in Paris in 1989, in Copenhagen in 1990, in Moscow in late 1991 and in Helsinki in May-June 1992. The Copenhagen Declaration of the Conference of the Human Dimension (1990), although not legally binding, morally commits the 34 participating States to take positive steps to protect the human rights and fundamental freedoms of minorities. The Roma (Gypsies) are the only ethnic group explicitly mentioned in Article 40 concerning minorities, which is an official acknowledgement of the gravity of their problems.

At the CSCE Meeting of Experts on National Minorities held in Geneva in 1991, information was distributed describing the upsurge in racism and violence towards Gypsies in several countries. It was proposed that international funding be made available for a pilot research and development project on the Gypsies in Europe and that the scope of existing task forces be expanded to include Gypsy communities in non-member countries. CSCE organized a seminar on minorities in Warsaw, Poland, in May 1993 which again focused specifically on Gypsies.

The United Nations

Numerous United Nations conventions and declarations concern the protection of ethnic minorities in general. The first specific mention of Gypsies in a United Nations document occurs in 1977, in a resolution dated 31 August (Doc.E/CN4/Sub.2/399), prepared by the Commission on Human Rights' Sub-Committee on Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities. The resolution urges countries to grant Gypsies within their borders all the rights enjoyed by the rest of their populations. It stresses that recognition of a minority population implies, above all, retention of its cultural identity. It also acknowledges the particularly disadvantaged situation of Gypsies in various European countries and highlights the importance of examining the psychological roots of ethnocentric attitudes and prejudices against minority groups.

In March 1979, the United Nations Economic and Social Council, in a highly significant decision, recognized the International Romani Union as an official interlocutor representing Gypsies. This non-governmental organization has subsequently played an important role, particularly at meetings of the Sub-Committee.

In August 1991, the Sub-Committee drew attention to specific incidents of prejudice, discrimination, intolerance and xenophobia directed against the Gypsy community, and the persistent violations of their civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights.

In 1992, the United Nations adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities. Finally, and marking the first time that a United Nations body had

Living conditions of Gypsy families in Europe continue to deteriorate as elected officials leave action for others or for later.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

examined the situation of Gypsies at this level, the Commission on Human Rights adopted Resolution 65 (1992), 'Protection of Roma (Gypsies)', which calls on States to take all necessary steps to eliminate all forms of discrimination against Gypsies.

The International Labour Office, UNESCO and other specialized United Nations bodies have also studied the problems faced by Gypsies. UNESCO has funded publications and specific research projects, particularly with regard to the Romani language. UNICEF has also conducted research on the living conditions and educational needs of Gypsy children.

In 1992, following a violent attack on the shelter site of asylum-seeking Gypsy families in Rostock, Germany, and the signing of a Convention between Germany and Rumania regulating the repatriation of Rumanians whose applications for asylum had been refused, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees commissioned a report on the situation of Gypsies in Central and Eastern Europe. The analysis and recommendations of the report, published in 1993, confirm once again the need for urgent and effective intervention. The report makes specific recommendations concerning the protection of Gypsies suffering from persecution and contains guidelines for ensuring that the rights of asylum-seekers are respected.

A Balance Sheet

As can be seen from the above discussion, a broad movement has gradually taken shape. Education of Gypsy children remains a priority, but issues relating to social welfare, housing, legal status and human rights are also being studied. Some of the guidelines developed in the field of education are proving useful and could be tried in other areas. Dialogue among the different actors has increased, and European institutions and international organizations show greater readiness to view Gypsy organizations as partners.

There is still much to be learned, however, in the field of development, notably caution. The distance between theory and practice, between projects and their implementation, is vast. This gap is not negative in itself, but instead shows that cultural dynamism is strong and that effective initiatives depend on careful planning and implementation. Precisely because there is no all-purpose theory of development, it is important to learn from past experience so as to avoid repeating mistakes that have high social, psychological and (especially important for decision makers) financial costs.

In most cases, a lack of financial resources is not the main impediment to effective action. Often a redeployment of funds could do much to improve the situation. What is lacking in all countries, instead, is political will, on both an individual and collective level — the will to focus attention on Gypsies and to take concerted action on their behalf. Elected officials tend to leave medium- and long-term measures for others or for later, and avoid encouraging short-term measures whose costs could alienate their constituencies. For these reasons, the situations of Gypsy communities often continue to degenerate rather than to improve, and the victims of political neglect become the culprits.

Action may be taken indirectly on behalf of Gypsies, for example, through information campaigns to eliminate stereotypes and foster understanding. More direct ways of aiding this group would include modifying regulations (or simply the way they are applied); promoting changes in institutions (particularly schools); and providing financial and technical assistance, to enable Gypsies, through their organizations, to defend themselves and to promote their own development.

There are no recipes for improving 'the Gypsy situation'. The different needs and aspirations of Gypsy communities in widely varying contexts call for a mosaic of small-scale interventions within an overall framework. Often the process is more important than short-term gains. While attempts can be made to construct a theory from practice, basing practice on a theory often proves futile. Projects cannot be fitted into pre-established and rigid theoretical models. Flexible frameworks make innovation possible, allow new avenues to be explored and therefore are more likely

to achieve hoped-for results. This may seem to be an obvious statement, but many people *actually consider it to be highly anarchistic.*

In the final analysis, Gypsies hold the keys to their own development. Yet the societies in which they live must create opportunities, through constructive collaboration, for them to use those keys.

Priorities for Action

A set of guidelines can be identified for the development of action-research projects aimed at improving the situation of Gypsy children and their communities. Approaches need to be flexible, community-based and highly participatory, taking into account both the dynamics of Gypsy communities and the various sociopolitical and socio-economic parameters of their actual situations (Liégeois, 1994). Three other principles contribute to the success of approaches and deserve special attention: coordination; research and knowledge; and information and documentation.

Coordination

Over the years, a 'puzzle' strategy has proved to be the most successful in achieving progress. The aim has been to work systematically towards single yet complementary achievements, each of which occupies a unique and indispensable place within a whole. To be effective, this strategy requires an independent 'coordinator'.

Little attention has been paid to date to the important role coordination plays in strengthening actions, preventing conflicts among different partners, ensuring the congruity of the various phases of an activity and enhancing the overall efficiency of efforts. Yet it is obvious that sustainable progress can be made only if efforts are complementary. Partial or ad hoc measures tend to work against each other — from one site to another and from one year to the next — and end up undermining the adaptive mechanisms as well as the hopes of the people for whom they were intended.

Every situation, then, is part of a global context, requiring a holistic and well-coordinated approach. How can educational measures for Gypsy children succeed when government regulations provide for the expulsion of nomads? How can vocational training be useful if it is not accompanied by measures to create employment opportunities? How can non-discrimination be promoted when even the legal status of certain minority groups is unclear?

Gypsies have no territory of their own; they are dispersed in various nations where their presence is often viewed negatively. Consequently, they have little local political influence and are rarely elected to public office at any level. To overcome these disadvantages, local, regional, national and international bodies should take an active role in promoting and coordinating effective measures on behalf of Gypsies.

The Council of Europe, the European Union, CSCE, United Nations organizations and other international institutions have a particularly important part to play as coordinators. They can build awareness about Gypsies' situations, encourage States to take positive and appropriate measures, stimulate dialogue, assist in decision-making, provide information and technical assistance, implement projects and disseminate lessons learned.

Because the different partners, including Gypsies, are wary of specialized structures, which they feel encourage segregation, it is important that specialized skills be developed at all levels (local, regional and national) and on many fronts. If, for example, Gypsy children attend normal classes, this presupposes that specially trained school inspectors, student counsellors and teachers are available. Phasing out specialized school structures without creating coordinating bodies and providing special training inevitably means encouraging a policy of assimilation. This type of practice neglects Gypsies as a cultural minority, roughly equates them with all other poor and marginalized groups, and therefore deals with them, once again, within an institutional framework that is not of direct relevance to them.

Expected to marry in their early teens, Gypsy girls learn nurturing skills at a young age

Research and Knowledge

Gypsies tend to be critical, and often legitimately so, of research relating to them. Non-experts are often commissioned to carry out studies and then pressured to produce 'instant' results. In the process, they generally do not dialogue with the Gypsies, but treat them merely as passive subjects. This situation can be likened to a paramedic hastily writing a prescription without obtaining the patient's clinical history or even reaching a diagnosis.

As they discover their 'subject', moreover, these researchers tend to break down open doors, try the patience of 'information providers' and make proposals that, in the best of cases, repeat those made in other studies. In addition, researchers often are highly conformist, cautious about treading new ground — an attitude that suits many policy makers quite well and meets the approval of academic 'purists' who generally stigmatize proponents of the non-orthodox. Unconventional researchers are also handicapped because they must convince others that their studies are worthwhile, an effort too often doomed to failure because of the scarce consideration their findings are given. A final indictment is that most studies lead nowhere: they produce no actual lessons on which to base future action.

Although consciences may be soothed by apparent efforts to 'study the problems', hasty analogies or preconceived ideas can have extremely negative effects. This situation is changing, but too slowly. Independent and qualified researchers are urgently needed to carry out well-coordinated studies, developed in collaboration with all partners. The data provided by such research efforts could help create positive images of Gypsy communities and provide these marginalized minority groups with information that they are otherwise denied.

Information and Documentation

As the numbers of initiatives on behalf of Gypsies increase, there is a greater need to become familiar with them, to publicize them, to accumulate experience, to enhance the value of existing information and develop the means for evaluating it. It is well known that possessing information means possessing the power to act, deliberate and choose. Institutions therefore have a duty to ensure that all, and particularly those in a disadvantaged minority situation, have access to the knowledge and decision-making tools they need.

Documentation centres on Gypsy concerns have been developed at regional, national and European levels. Much more should be done to raise awareness of the various kinds of technical support and services they provide, which, depending on the size of the centre, can include research activities, the publication and dissemination of information, training and network-building. This variety is an asset, particularly as different centres can complement each other.

International institutions can take positive steps to support the creation of networks of individuals and organizations active in Gypsy matters, principally by providing easily accessible and comprehensible information to key individuals and groups such as Gypsy organizations, local governments and non-governmental organizations. A transnational framework is a particularly logical choice in which to view the exchange of information relating to this transnational community.

In sum, as long as actions relating to Gypsies are inspired by prejudice and stereotypes, relations between the different cultures will remain conflictive. Information is an essential component in gaining recognition for Gypsy communities, a recognition that moves away from a folkloristic and romantic vision or attitudes of contempt. Until now, Gypsies have been invented: instead they urgently need to be recognized in their originality and cultural wealth. Cooperation through mutual respect is a difficult yet indispensable condition for improvements in the situations of Gypsy communities and for a more rewarding coexistence. In the relations between two cultures, information is an important factor in breaking down prejudices and preventing conflicts. With dialogue, diversity can be understood rather than opposed in principle.

Technical Assistance

The provision of aid to minority communities is necessary, but the forms it takes and the goals underlying it need to be rethought in order to ensure that it does not resemble or promote assimilation policies. What is needed is technical assistance and technical aid as opposed to social assistance and social aid.

Gypsies need to have access to the instruments that permit them to choose their future, to enable them to be actors in their own right rather than the objects of others, constrained by coercive regulations and actions. Many of the difficulties faced by Gypsies are technical in nature and must be dealt with in a technical way. Although Gypsies should be able to rely on social assistance, when necessary, they need to have access to technical assistance in order to shape their own future. Technical assistance should be seen as a tool permitting Gypsies to adapt rather than forcing them to assimilate.

Envisaging technical aid in this light means respecting Gypsy communities and creating greater opportunities for them to live independently and with dignity. It also implies thinking and acting in affirmative ways and relying on the positive aspects of Gypsy culture — its language, history and social fabric — rather than reacting to a globally negative context. In other words, it is better to act than to react, though this is by no means easy in the present situation.

A First Step

To develop and maintain long-term activities aimed at reducing intolerance towards Gypsy communities and improving the welfare and well-being of Gypsy children and their families, an important first step would be to analyse comparatively existing innovative projects. Analyses would have to begin with a detailed description of each project's initial situation (including its basic plan, context, partners involved, direct participants and aims). The different phases of implementation would then be reviewed and project outcomes analysed to determine replicability. Important questions to ask at this stage are: Has an evaluation been undertaken of the initiative? If so, upon which criteria was it based and how was it carried out? Is there a gap between the initial aims and the results obtained? Which factors facilitate innovation? Have any elements hindered success?

This type of study was undertaken during a seminar organized by the Council of Cultural Cooperation of the Council of Europe in 1987 and attended by 10 States. The seminar's findings were summarized in a complete report, *The Schooling of Gypsy Children: An Evaluation of Innovative Action*.

If projects are to improve, they need to be continually analysed, rethought and expanded. By becoming familiar with the conditions giving rise to an initiative, the fields to which it applies and the forms it takes, we can have a better understanding of how it is innovative and how it could be made to yield better results. We could also begin to find the answers to some important questions: What is the meaning of innovation? What are the optimal conditions for proposing and implementing innovative actions? What conditions are needed to consolidate an innovative initiative, 'go to scale' and replicate it in other social or geographic areas?

To enhance the effectiveness of this type of analysis, a network of groups and individuals involved in the field could be developed. In this way, analysis and evaluation can become action-research, with particular emphasis on the internal dynamics of Gypsy communities and the widest possible involvement of individuals and groups. Action-research, of course, is difficult because the researchers are participants and the participants are researchers: traditional practices, roles and patterns are inevitably disrupted. Points of reference are lost, but this in itself encourages innovation, flexibility and openness.

Yet no matter how difficult, action-research as a strategy offers several advantages. It is indeed a strategy for work, an approach, a state of mind applied in practice rather than as a defined formula. Action-research is the critical analysis of technical know-how and the development of ways of

making this knowledge widely known with a view to evaluating it and possibly modifying practices to achieve the original goals. Without being applied research, action-research is inherently directed towards a process of adaptability: applying action-research means undertaking evaluation in order to evolve.

Gypsy communities throughout Europe live in difficult and sometimes appalling conditions, and their situation rarely shows signs of improvement. Yet many countries have produced important social and cultural projects in favour of Gypsies. This in itself illustrates that even in the most severe situations of disadvantage, culture remains a point of reference, a synonym for dynamism, a carrier of hope — especially for the younger generations, for children.

Opportunities must be created to enable Gypsy children to realize their full potentials as Gypsies.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Issues relating to the situation of Gypsies are gradually gaining importance in debates in various forums. International organizations, including UNICEF within the framework of the 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, have a special role to play in ensuring the development and consolidation of innovative projects benefiting Gypsy children, families and communities. Other important actors include non-governmental organizations, foundations, government programmes (at the national, regional and local levels), public or private research bodies and universities.

One of the real advantages in the development of the Gypsy issue in terms of positive projects is that it cancels out a commonly held 'problematic' or negative vision of Gypsy communities and attributes to them the dynamism and respect to which they are entitled. Participatory project development goes hand in hand with preventing rejection, intolerance and racism. For Gypsies themselves, it could mean recognition and self-realization.

References

Liégeois, J.P. *Tsiganes*. La Découverte / Naspero, Paris, 1985.

Liégeois, J.P. *Gypsies and Travellers*. Council of Europe Press, Strasbourg, 1985.

Liégeois, J.P. *School Provision for Gypsy and Travel ler Children*. Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, Luxembourg, 1987.

Liégeois, J.P. *Roma, Gypsies, Travellers*. Council of Europe Press, Strasbourg, 1994.

CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS

PAOLO CHIOZZI

An Anthropological Approach

Anthropologists have traditionally shown little interest in the subject of childhood and have only recently begun to consider immigration as a distinct area of study. In Italy, for example, the first anthropological analysis of immigrant groups was research I myself conducted in the mid–1980s in Prato, a city in the central region (Chiozzi, 1988). Even the first demographic and sociological research on immigrants in Italy only dates back to the early–1980s. A study focusing on *children of immigrants* (a term used in this paper to signify both immigrant children and children born of migrant parents in the host country) is therefore doubly innovative and, as a result, comes up against difficult methodological issues. In short, a methodology needs to be 'invented'.

What distinguishes anthropology from other social sciences, such as sociology or social psychology, is not what is studied, which can involve cultural and social phenomena occurring in primitive and highly advanced societies alike. Rather, what is distinctive is how a particular subject is viewed. Anthropologists have a holistic perspective: they seek to comprehend each particular aspect as a 'total social phenomenon', to use the expression coined by Marcel Mauss (1950), the father of contemporary French anthropology. This methodology is particularly relevant to the task of delineating an approach to the study of children of immigrants. The concept was subsequently refined by the sociologist Georges Balandier (1971), who maintained that each total social phenomenon should be regarded as a social 'revelator' (*révélateur social*) by means of which the whole social and cultural system may be understood. But what does this actually mean within the specific context of children of immigrants?

An 'anthropology of children' makes sense only if children are viewed as the *focus* of research but not its sole concern. Children — including their life circumstances, their view of their own world and the attitudes of adults towards them — can be considered as 'revelators' of the society as a whole. Margaret Mead, probably most aware among anthropologists of the child's social centrality, implicitly suggested this when she wrote that, in directing attention to children, "the anthropologist will be concerned from the start with the relation between child and others as a system of intercommunication" — that is, as a cultural and social system (Mead and MacGregor, 1951, p. 26). Indeed, anthropology is essentially concerned with the dynamics of communication between human beings. It is misleading and reductive to view anthropology as the study of *otherness* — be it the 'primitive', the 'woman' or the 'child' — since what is actually of interest is the encounter between individuals and the interaction that this necessarily involves.

Within this perspective, focusing on children means observing and understanding the flow of communication between them and adults, and analysing their place within their

cultural and social systems. Put differently, it means recognizing children, without reservation, as 'social actors'. This approach can effectively be employed in studying children of minority groups in general, and children of immigrants in particular.

From 'Social Invisibility' to Discrimination

Immigrants are normally 'unperceived'. The Prato study revealed a striking lack of awareness among Italian residents of the presence of immigrants. Though commonly 'seen' about the neighbourhood, immigrants went unnoticed and unacknowledged (Chiozzi, 1988). This *social incisibility* is by no means a rare phenomenon, and may be explained as the desire to ignore 'otherness' unless it becomes a 'danger' or 'threat' to the social order (provoking, in which case, more or less violent reactions). Immigrant children are even more socially 'invisible' than adults: it would appear that they simply do not exist!

The media in industrialized countries have given considerable space in recent years to reports of the harsh and tragic conditions of children in developing nations. Accounts from poor, depressed or disaster-struck areas have called attention to children's suffering

An immigrant boy waits for business at a main intersection in Florence, Italy.

and needs. Individuals have been moved, have responded, have given some kind of assistance. But — and the aim here is not to be provocative but rather to raise an important issue — the 'other' children in our midst remain invisible.

Children of immigrants in Italy, for instance, are not even included as such in national statistics. In reports concerning immigrants, ISTAT, the national institute of statistics, uses only a 0–24 age bracket, making it impossible to have official estimates of the number of children of immigrants currently in Italy. To cite another example, recent immigration laws make no reference to children at all, implying that the sociological category of 'immigrant' comprises a completely homogeneous group of adult workers.

It is not surprising, then, that the conditions and problems of children of immigrants, at times as desperate as those of children in the Third World, are ignored by the media. An exception to this general rule is the attention that the media give to the problem of juvenile offences. Local reports of immigrant youths 'nabbed' by the police, and statistics showing that the majority of these young 'criminals' are 'foreigners' (mainly Gypsies, as all immigrants from former Yugoslavia are arbitrarily classified, and North Africans) receive far greater media coverage than does informative reporting on their social and cultural problems. Here is confirmation that immigrants — and their children — become visible only when they are perceived as a danger to the social order. They lose their invisibility to become objects of prejudice or to be defined by ethnocentric stereotypes.

To understand the shift from 'social invisibility' to discrimination, we must consider different perspectives as a whole. Social, cultural, political and economic factors all affect the status of immigrants, but as these different factors are closely interconnected, it would be misleading to analyse them separately. We may of course speak of 'social' or 'economic' discrimination, always bearing in mind, however, that in so doing, we are focusing on only one aspect in order to grasp the immigrant's situation in its overall complexity.

The emphasis placed on the *ethnic* origins of immigrants represents a subtle form of discrimination; referring to them as an 'impersonalized' group means denying immigrants their subjectivity. We usually talk of 'the Chinese children' or 'the Moroccan children', but this disregards their individual and specific characteristics as well as the various elements that combine to define their situations, including social and economic status, family characteristics, gender, health, education and migratory experience. Thus, focusing on an indefinite *ethnic identity* ignores the complex issue of the set of 'identity options' faced by each individual, whose 'identity' is necessarily a permanent *process* (Wallman, 1983, and others).

Types of Discrimination

A decree issued in 1988 by a regional-level government in the central part of Italy provides a useful example of the most common types of discrimination suffered by children of immigrants. This decree, which deals with the welfare of the Rom Gypsy ethnic group, states that Gypsy children must comply with the national laws on compulsory school attendance. However, these laws, which among other things establish school curricula, include no provisions to help non-Italian students maintain and develop their *own* languages and cultures (a right recognized in theory in the Italian Constitution and immigration laws, but unfulfilled in practice because of the absence of specific programmes). In fact, the school in Italy, as elsewhere, was originally conceived for the promotion of cultural assimilation rather than multiculturalism.

A bill for 'the protection of ethnolinguistic minorities' was debated in Parliament in 1991. Although ultimately rejected, this proposed law sparked a great deal of controversy, with opponents claiming that it threatened the "unity of our fatherland". This type of statement, all the more striking as it was asserted by well-known 'progressive' intellectuals, clearly indicates the dominant cultural attitude towards minorities in Italy, and more generally in Europe.

Host-country media give little coverage to the immigrant child's cultural and social problems

The most conspicuous forms of discrimination towards children of immigrants are found within the school system. However, discrimination filters right through their lives and those of their parents, and has a bearing, for example, on their health, housing and treatment under legal systems. This is particularly evident if we compare the status and situation of children of immigrants with the provisions of the 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.

If attention is then concentrated on urban areas, where immigrants tend to settle, it may be seen that the 'city' is a stage on which social relations are acted out, including those patterns of relations that can be defined as discrimination. Not only children of immigrants, but more generally their families and communities "... are progressively being structurally marginalised from the process of production (e.g., paid work), consumption (e.g., income, goods and services) and community life (e.g., politics, neighbourhood activities)" (White, 1993, p. 85). Discrimination against immigrants would therefore appear to be a 'total social phenomenon', and it is as such that the question should be approached.

Cultural 'Assimilation' or Cultural 'Preservation'

Adults migrating to another country, or to a city for that matter, obviously take their own cultural identities with them. Indeed, detachment from their familiar 'spaces', including physical but also mental, social, cultural, linguistic and emotional spaces, involves considerable trauma. For children, this trauma may be even more severe, regardless of whether they were born in the country of origin or in the receiving country. The only difference, it would seem, between the experiences of these two categories of children lies in their 'memories'. Immigrant children generally construct their representation of their country of origin on personal experience, while children born in the new country must trust their parents' accounts. This is by no means a minor difference, of course, particularly as it may have important implications for the parent–child relationship — an issue that deserves greater attention.

In entering the 'new world', immigrant children have serious identity crises, which influence not only their own self-perception but also their interactions with their peers and their families. This leads us to a fundamental question: Are the "best interests" of immigrant children better served by promoting their complete cultural assimilation into the new context or, conversely, by encouraging their development within their original culture?

In the past, 'assimilation' was more widely popular, though with different meanings and emphases, such as the myth of the construction of an 'American Civil Society' in the United States (Ramirez, 1990) or the well-known *franco-centrisme* promoted in France (Piault, 1987). Currently, however, preference has shifted to 'integration', and the password in this perspective is multiculturalism. The question then becomes: Can this notion, whatever it may indeed signify, help to prevent discrimination?

The Convention on the Rights of the Child, one of the most comprehensive and innovative human rights instruments ever adopted by the international community, aims to protect and promote the physical, psychological, cultural, social and economic welfare of all children, without "discrimination of any kind" (as specified in Article 2). Discrimination is a primary cause of situations of psychosocial risk. While assimilation policies undoubtedly have failed to recognize the immigrant child's cultural identity, it is still unclear whether the shift to multiculturalism, which emphasizes that specific identity, will effectively prevent discrimination.

Before we attempt to address this issue, it is worth recalling Margaret Mead's argument on the subject:

> We know that when individuals migrate from one culture to another, their children to some degree, their grandchildren to a greater degree, their great grandchildren even more, approximate to the new posture and

> gesture patterns of the new culture. Only by identifying which particular systems of communication, between adult and infant and between child and child, are operative in which changes can we begin to plan responsibly to rear children who do not merely repeat the behavior of previous generations but can initiate new behaviors that will in turn alter the behavior even of their grandparents. The focus of planned cultural change lies in learning, and the learning of the infant and the child and the response-evoking aspect of the child constitute one exceedingly important point where disciplined human intelligence can intervene constructively in the process of molding a culture closer to the needs and the capacities of all those who live within it (Mead, 1951, p. 184).

This quotation encapsulates some of the most important problems relating to the question of assimilation/integration. On the one hand, the 'natural' tendency of immigrant children is to try to assimilate into the new culture, and not to "repeat the behavior of previous generations". This is especially the case for children born in the receiving country. They generally reject their original culture and language (for instance, Chinese children tend to draw their self-portraits with a 'European' physiognomy), while making a great effort to take on a 'native' identity. Parent/child communication may become problematic, and intergenerational conflicts arise because parents oppose this detachment from the 'traditional' culture. On the other hand, some 'closed' immigrant communities tend to reproduce internally their culture's traditional patterns of behaviour. For example, the Chinese immigrant community in Italy and elsewhere has shown itself to be almost 'impermeable' to external dynamics and acculturative stimuli. This isolation again tends to increase the likelihood of intergenerational conflict.

Since both of these scenarios clearly have negative effects on children (and others), the fundamental question now needs to be reformulated: Assuming that assimilation and cultural 'apartheid' (be it voluntary or not) should be rejected, that every individual has the right to maintain his or her own culture, and that migration always provokes *change*, how can we best deal with that change? More explicitly, the question could be phrased: What is meant by 'the right to cultural preservation' in a dynamic situation?

Any adequate answer to this question must be based on a primary concern for the best interests of the child; in other words, the task is to plan for *child-focused* change. This involves searching for ways to create and maintain a balance between *intradomestic* integration and equilibrium and *social* integration within the new cultural context. In this way, the idea would not be to choose between radical cultural preservation or full 'acculturation', but rather to promote a type of *biculturalism*. Within such a perspective, programmes of action could be developed that are appropriate for all kinds of immigrant situations. Clearly, however, specific research studies are needed to devise effective programmes.

It is worth stressing that any programme targeting children of immigrants cannot concern *only* these children: since the aim of such programmes is obviously to ensure the children's complete physical and mental development, a number of factors within the environment as a whole must be considered — ranging from the 'native' children and their perceptions of the 'newcomers' to the relations within the immigrant families themselves.

The Importance of Local-level Initiatives

In February 1992, the Italian Government passed a law in response to the growing intolerance manifested towards 'foreigners'. Apart from its eventual merits or flaws, this law raises some issues which are worth commenting upon. As was to be predicted, it did not stop all acts of aggression against immigrants and religious minorities such as the Jews. Laws, in fact, should be products of cultural processes and therefore cannot realistically be expected, by themselves, to provoke changes in culturally consolidated habits (Mauss, 1950).

The Chinese community in Florence, Italy, welcomes in the New Year in the city's main square with a message of prosperity and peace

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Racial intolerance and other forms of discrimination are effects of cultural patterns — whether they operate at the social, economic, political or other levels. Therefore, curbing or preventing discrimination always implies a *cultural policy*.

The fundamental importance of 'locally based action' is therefore evident, since a 'cultural policy' must incorporate people's participation if it is to be effective. In this light and with specific reference to the situation of children of immigrants, two main priority areas for research and action emerge:

1. ***Education***. There is insufficient documented evidence to confirm the widespread belief that students belonging to ethnic minorities perform better in 'special' mono-ethnic schools than in 'racially integrated' schools. In Italy, children of immigrants attend the regular, state-run schools. Indeed, a Ministry of Education provision allows for no more than five students of the same ethnic origin in one class in order to avoid 'racial' concentrations and subsequent segregation and, instead, to promote interaction (significantly distinguished from 'integration'). Apart from obvious initial linguistic difficulties, no significant differences have been found in the educational performances of 'immigrant' and 'native' children in intercultural school situations. However, although at present children's performance at school is normally evaluated according to 'ethnocentric' standards, a multicultural classroom calls for new evaluation criteria in addition to new teaching methodologies and curricula. Briefly, the aim of education in this regard is to develop tolerance and a spontaneous respect of 'otherness', rather than the acritical acquisition of stereotyped knowledge. Thus, the presence of non-native students in the school provides an opportunity for the entire education system, and emphasizes the possibility of viewing the situation of children of immigrants as one element of a more general issue concerning all children.

2. ***Family***. The status of the immigrant family will clearly influence the lives and well-being of its children. Studies are therefore needed that focus on such fundamental issues as housing, productivity, consumption, political rights, and access to education, health and other public services. In addition, greater understanding is needed of the traditional family structure, particularly when it is situated in the 'new' context. Such studies would make it possible to single out the specific differences and tensions that give rise to 'cultural' conflicts, including, for instance, the role of women and the economic exploitation of children. When debates on 'integration' or 'cultural preservation' arise, this area proves to be one of the most complex.

While national laws offer a general framework, local government bodies, which are more directly involved in the daily problems that arise within their areas of competence, should assume a major part of the responsibility for promoting specific projects. Taking the Chinese community in Italy as an example once more, in the Tuscan region child labour within this ethnic group is widespread despite national laws (and, of course, international conventions). Few people believe in the efficacy of repressive measures in this situation. Instead, there is a growing conviction that local bodies could play an important role in curbing child labour, a hypothesis that is currently being tested in a number of projects in Italy.

Finally, in discussing the problems of children of immigrants and their families, we should never forget that we are dealing with an extremely complex situation. When we talk about 'immigrants', we are not referring to a single ethnic or cultural group but to a number of different communities, each embodying a distinct culture and specific needs.

Taking the Debate One Step Further

In conclusion, some further possible priorities for research are presented here. A principal objective of research on this subject should be to help raise awareness of children of immigrants as *subjects*. Until recently, they have mainly been treated as objects — objects of social policies, of administrative measures, or even of research projects.

As an initial starting point, much can be learned about the situation of children of

Programmes to help non-Italian schoolchildren become literate in their native languages are non-existent

immigrants by analysing the degree to which the national legislation of each receiving country has been harmonized with the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Other issues have serious implications for the welfare of children of immigrants and therefore require attention both in terms of research and action. Foremost among these, as already mentioned, are education and the family. In relation to the family, it would be important to investigate the situation of the many children migrating alone or with only a part of their families, as well as the position of the child within the family. Other issues requiring further study include: child labour; child abuse; health and social services; and juvenile justice (in particular the concept of 'deviance' needs to be redefined).

Finally, another area that could usefully be investigated is the development of *international cooperation* between 'receiving' and 'sending' countries. This is a central area of concern in any programme that aims to promote integration while respecting the immigrant families' right to enjoy and preserve their own cultures.

References

BALANDIER, G., *Sens et puissance*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1971.

CHIOZZI, P., *La presenza di immigrati extra-europei a Prato. Una indagine qualitativa*, Assessorato allo sviluppo economico, Comune di Prato, 1988.

CHIOZZI, P., 'Focus on Children', in *Yearbook of Visual Anthropology*, Vol. 1, 1993, pp. 79-83.

MAUSS, M., *Sociologie et anthropologie*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1950.

MEAD, M. and MACGREGOR, F. C., *Growth and Culture. A Photographic Study of Balinese Childhood*, G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1951.

PIAULT, M. (ed.), *Vers des societes pluri-culturelles: etudes comparatives et situation en France*, Editions de l'Orstom, Paris, 1987.

RAMIREZ, B., 'The Perils of Assimilation: Towards a Comparative Analysis of Immigration, Ethnicity and National Identity in North America', in Lerda, V.G. (ed.), *From "Melting Pot" to Multiculturalism*, Bulzoni, Rome, 1990, pp. 143-168.

WALLMAN, S., 'Identity Options', in Fried, C. (ed.), *Minorities: Community and Identity*, Springer Verlag, Heidelberg, 1983, pp. 69-78.

WHITE, R., 'Youth and the Conflict over Urban Space', *Children's Environments*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 1993, pp. 85-93.

DIFFERENT EQUALITIES: INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN ITALY

DONATA LODI

Introduction

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) recognizes the child's right to be equal (entitled to fundamental human rights without discrimination of any kind) and to be different (entitled to her or his own cultural identity). Guaranteeing these intrinsically related rights to children belonging to immigrant groups is a challenge that Western European countries are facing in different ways. In all of their immigration policies, however, the formal school system is consistently viewed as playing a key role in integration while also constituting one of the most difficult stages in this process.

The close connection between compulsory education and integration is well known. A change in a family's status from temporary migrants to more permanent settlers is, for instance, immediately reflected in enrolment rates for ethnic minority children, which can almost be considered a statistical signal of an ethnic group's position in (and demands on) its new sociocultural context.

School systems are currently at the centre of a complex debate involving several key issues: integration versus assimilation; the educational needs of ethnic minority children versus the priorities of the schools they are being integrated into; the defence of individual and specific cultural identities versus an emphasis on elements of a common culture. These issues run through the entire body of social and cultural policies relating to immigrants. Historically they have been translated into a wide array of intervention models not only across countries, but also in response to the different migratory waves that have occurred in Western Europe since the Second World War.

There are, however, additional variables that come into play in the debate on education and immigrant children. First among these are the children themselves. Immigrant children who have entered host-country school systems are caught between different and sometimes conflicting rights and priorities: between their rights as individuals and children, on the one hand, and as members of ethnic minorities, on the other; or again, between respect for their individual identities and needs (for language instruction and socialization, for example), on one side, and respect for the educational expectations and demands of their families or ethnic communities, on the other.

Complicating matters further are the priorities and educational objectives of school systems themselves. In the case of Italy, the main focus of this chapter, little attention has been paid until recently to cultural and linguistic differences among students. Now efforts are being made to develop a more global perspective in school curricula by incorporating the ideas of Education for Development. As a result, a shift has occurred from multicultural education, which targets different ethnic groups with specific education programmes, to intercultural education,

which views cultures comparatively and encourages all students to consider diversity as valuable and enriching.

Beginning with an overview of immigration in Italy, this chapter explores some of the individual experiences and projects that have been undertaken, and discusses the obstacles and pitfalls – on a methodological and operative level – found along the difficult, but necessary, path to intercultural education.

Immigration in Italy

Migration towards Western Europe today is prompted by complex structural problems and involves large groups of people with widely differing socio-economic levels, cultural backgrounds and expectations. The situation, already intricate a few years ago, has become even more complicated since the fall of Eastern European regimes, which has produced new migrations towards Western Europe and beyond.

Italy's share of immigrants is still modest – both in absolute numbers and relative to other European countries. Official data place the number of non-European Union (EU) residents in Italy at 925,000 (fig. 1). There are many (perhaps as many) clandestine or 'illegal' immigrants. The non-EU population therefore is undoubtedly less than 1 per cent of the total Italian population (about 57 million in 1991). However, some sceptics claim that immigrant populations are grossly underestimated, while others accuse regions of having 'padded' their statistics, perhaps with the 'good intention' of calling attention to the immigrant problem. These contradictions have added fuel to the ongoing debate about the reliability of statistics, one of the most controversial aspects of the immigration issue in Italy today (Perrotta, 1991).

Immigration in Italy has other distinctive characteristics. It is relatively recent, the first large-scale migrations from developing countries dating back to the 1980s when – given the lack of specific immigration laws, the total absence of reception facilities and the laissez-faire attitudes prevalent at that time – it was easy for large and highly precarious immigrant communities to be formed, some made up mainly of seasonal workers. Another peculiarity is that today's immigrants are generally not part of an uneducated and unskilled workforce oriented towards factory work. Instead they are a virtual cultural elite, not only with respect to standards in their

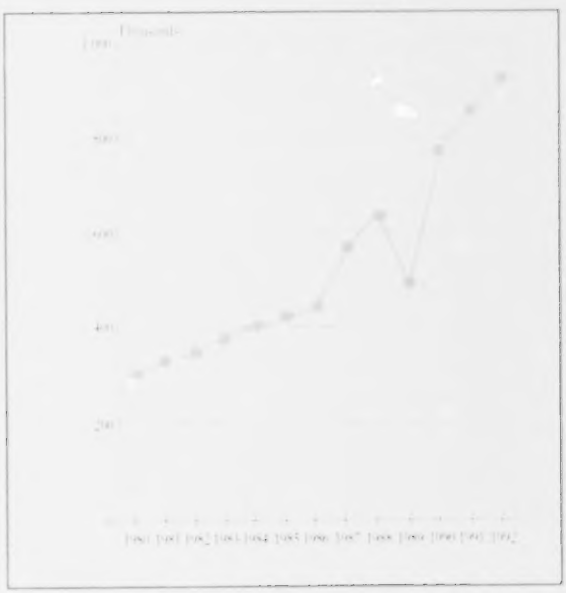


Figure 1 – Foreign Population of Italy (1981-1992, in thousands)
Source: Caritas, Rome, based on data from the Italian Ministry of the Interior (ISTAT)

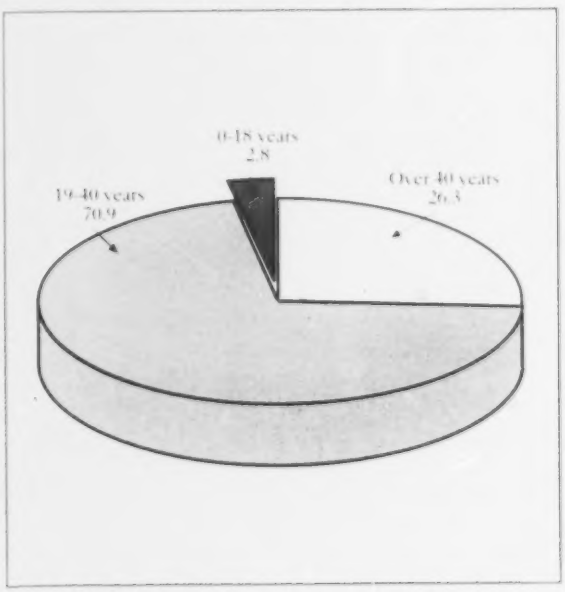


Figure 2 – Immigrants by Age Groups (Italy, early-1993, percentages)

SILLA AND NOT MILLA: THE PARADOXES OF THE ITALIAN CASE

At a seaside resort in central Italy in 1992, a young Senegalese hawker was trying to sell his trinkets to a Roman family. The father, a 40-year-old armed with books and newspapers, struck up a friendly conversation with the immigrant and asked him his name. Upon hearing "Milla", he immediately said, "Oh yes. Milla, like the soccer player on the Cameroon team." "No", the Senegalese replied in a serious and somewhat bored tone, "Silla, not Milla. Silla, as in Roman history. I don't know if you remember the story of Mario and Silla."

This episode underscores many of the paradoxes of immigration in Italy: first, it is a relatively new trend compared with the rest of Europe (particularly Central and Northern Europe); second, there is a striking discrepancy between the high cultural level of many of the immigrants and their unstable and degrading occupations; finally, even the most 'enlightened' segments of the population have long had an imperfect understanding of the phenomenon.

own countries but also to Italian ones. Anywhere from 46.9 to 67.5 per cent have secondary school certificates or college degrees, compared with an Italian average of 42.6 per cent for the corresponding age group (CENSIS, 1990).

Italians, like other Europeans, tend to have a distorted view of the immigrant population, considering it to be far more homogenous than it actually is. The Maghrebi and Senegalese hawkers and the Polish and Tamil windshield-washers are conspicuously present, but few people are aware of the Egyptian foundry workers in the north (one of Italy's first migrant groups), or the Maghrebi marble and tannery workers in the Venetian area.

Italy only enacted systematic legislation in 1990 to regulate immigration and institutionalize migrants' rights and guarantees. The central government and, more importantly, local governments are still seeking to define policies in response to immigrants' special needs, leaving service provision and other initiatives to Catholic and lay voluntary organizations.

And the children? One sure fact is that the immigrant child population, now quite modest (fig. 2), is growing faster than the total immigrant population. This trend is largely due to a gradual change in migratory patterns. Italy was for a long time, and still is in part, a

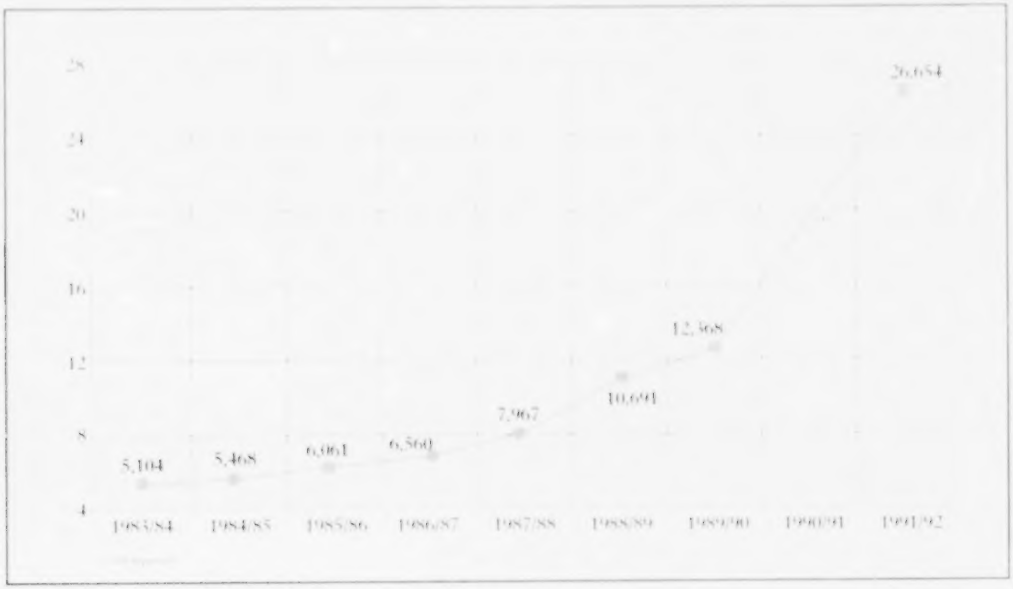


Figure 3 - Foreign Pupils in Pre-School through Grade Eight (Italy, 1983-1992)
Source: Caritas, Rome, based on data from the Ministry of the Interior (ISTAT).

country of temporary or transitional migration, chosen as a halting-place because it was easier than other countries to enter. The situation changed with the 1990 law, which enabled many immigrants to settle more permanently and request family reunification. Moreover, a significant share of female immigrants working as domestic servants (mainly from Somalia, Eritrea, Cape Verde and the Philippines), one of the oldest immigration categories, have now settled in Italy with their original families or formed new families. Second-generation minority children have become an increasingly important proportion of the foreign pupils in primary and secondary schools. According to a study conducted in Milan in 1990, of 3,734 resident foreign children, 2,140 were born in Italy (Favaro, 1990).

▶ **Table 1: Enrolment of Foreign Children, Pre-school through Grade Eight, by Area and Principal Countries of Origin, Italy, 1989-1992**

Area/Country of Origin	No. of Students	Percentage
Europe	7,428	27.9
European Union	2,979	7.6
ex-Yugoslavia	1,759	
Albania	1,137	
Poland	726	
Romania	397	
Africa	6,333	23.7
Morocco	2,917	
Egypt	642	
Somalia	356	
Ethiopia	370	
Tunisia	330	
Asia	4,766	17.9
China	2,199	
Philippines	361	
Iran	317	
North and South America	4,442	16.7
Argentina	928	
Peru	517	
Other	90	0.3
Dual Citizenship	3,593	13.5
TOTAL	26,652	100.0

Source: Based on STATOSER data

Although data relating to ethnic minority children and adolescents in Italy are now generally more reliable than in the 1980s, they are still widely discredited, as already mentioned. For this reason, school enrolment rates are believed to be the most trustworthy indicators available. The number of foreign pupils in pre-schools through grade eight increased fivefold from 1983/1984 to 1991/1992, the largest jump being from 1989-1990 to 1991-1992 (fig. 3). Of the non-EU nationals, the most numerous are Moroccans, followed by the Chinese. Eastern European pupils also form a large share of the total (Table 1). Increases are due not only to the greater number of foreign children living in Italy, but also to the fact that more of them are sent to school (Caritas, 1993; MPI-CSER, 1992; MPI-SIARES, 1992).

The Conflicts of Cultural Identity

Immigration is often spoken about in simplistic terms, as though it merely involved welcoming and 'fitting in' a mass of people. The more difficult issue of the relationship between integration and respect for the immigrants' cultural identities is rarely faced, except perhaps in academic research.

Even in the best of circumstances, respect for the cultural identity of ethnic minorities seems to be a compromise deriving from the forced relationships among social groups. Moreover, 'cultural identity' is not simply a question of immigrants' culture of origin (And then, which one? Their 'national' culture? Or the culture of the ethnic, linguistic or religious group to which they belong?) Immigrant cultures are, like all cultures, in continual transformation (Berque, 1991). Even within one immigrant group, there are actually multiple cultures, especially where a second or third generation is present. As noted by one author, "An immigrant culture includes, in all probability, the evolving traditional cultures of the generation that migrates and the emerging new cultures of their children ... and the culture of origin of every immigrant group undergoes the specific influence of the culture of the host society" (Gouillaud, 1989).

The conflicts inherent in the process of integration/protection of cultural identity become even more evident when the educational needs of children are considered. 'Immigrant minors' (as they are often defined in bureaucratic terminology) are above all children – an obvious but not banal assertion. And for them, the conflict between identification with their peer group and identification with the values and the culture of their families can often be a painful process and have serious consequences.

As has been amply documented, children of immigrants tend to do poorly in school, even in the second generation. One reason is that host-country schools generally give little importance to the cultural values of immigrants. Immigrant families, moreover, often fail to adapt their child-rearing practices to the new conditions. Second-generation children seem to be particularly affected by these cultural clashes (Bastenier et al., 1988; Blot, 1991).

Education policies for ethnic minority children in different European countries reflect political choices. France, for example, has adopted policies promoting the assimilation of migrants. The aim is to bring foreign students to the same educational level as native students. For this purpose, a number of specific measures have been introduced, including 'special receiving classes' for non-French-speaking children. (This approach would be unthinkable in the Italian school system, which rejects the very idea of special classes, even as a temporary measure.) Nonetheless, there is a stable second- and third-generation ethnic minority population (predominantly North African) that strongly defends its own cultural, social and religious identity, to the point that it has even constructed a parallel world (including a demand for separate schools).

The inverse situation is found in Germany where there has been a long history of labour migration, and the precariousness of the *gastarbeiter* (guest-worker) has been institutionalized by offering workers all social services but no political rights. Even the schooling of immigrant children is based on the assumption that they will eventually return home, which is one reason that the number of foreign children in 'special' classes continues to increase (Filtzinger, 1984; Susi, 1991). Paradoxically, despite this strong stand, Turkish immigrants are now claiming a right to citizenship, partly in reaction to racist attacks.

In the United Kingdom, after many years of strongly assimilative education policies, there was a notable opening towards cultural pluralism in the 1970s and 1980s. Support is now given in various forms to the many multicultural and intercultural education initiatives promoted by non-governmental organizations (NGOs), teachers' associations and local school authorities.

Other European countries have also encouraged initiatives enhancing ethnic cultures, especially since the 1980s. The Dutch have placed great emphasis on intercultural education projects and introduced measures to help students keep up with the class level. The Belgians established a legally recognized Islamic school in Brussels in 1989. The range of options is wide and there are just as many uncertainties about the best roads to take (LABOS, 1991; Eldering and Kloprogge, 1989). Clearly, the effectiveness of different policies should be measured not just by how they affect society as a whole, but also by how they benefit the children themselves.

Intercultural Education and Education for Development

Because immigration is still a recent trend in Italy, long one of the world's major labour-exporting countries, many different approaches to the schooling of ethnic minority children are being explored. The underlying thrust of the official circulars issued by the Ministry of Education, though sometimes uncertain in their use of the terms 'multicultural' and 'intercultural', has generally been to promote intercultural education as a unique opportunity to broaden and revitalize the Italian school system.

These directives can be faulted on a number of accounts: they are excessively optimistic about integration; they tend to minimize the importance of the conflicts and the eco-

Education policies often do not take account of the many factors influencing young immigrants' lives

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

nomic and social imbalances underlying racist attitudes; they place greater emphasis on moral obligation than on the instruments to be used to develop solidarity; and their perspective is overly school-centred, ignoring the other factors influencing the lives of young immigrants (and young Italians as well). To their credit, these instruments do firmly place the immigrant issue in the theoretical and practical framework of Education for Development.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to trace the history of Education for Development. Suffice it to say that the movement was launched by the 'Faure Report', presented by UNESCO at a 1970 seminar in Sweden, and by a study by Ruth Padrun (1974). Gradually, the idea took hold that the school could and should 'internationalize' itself, giving space to world development issues, and providing children with the skills and attitudes needed to combat ethnocentrism, intolerance and racism. Education for Development began to be discussed in Italy only at the end of the 1970s, much later than in many other countries.

The Experience of the Italian National Committee for UNICEF

The Italian National Committee for UNICEF, one of 34 private associations worldwide connected to UNICEF by a specific agreement of accreditation, began to make Education for Development a major activity in 1975, in schools as well as in other social areas. This was a long-term investment, in many ways unusual in the overall context of other National Committees, which at the time were mainly concerned with fund-raising (Black, 1986).

The National Committee's interest in Education for Development stemmed from a pilot project undertaken in two schools. This project had wide influence within the school system, and grew, in the early 1980s, into a fully fledged movement that can be summarized as follows:

- emphasis on the actual experiences of the school, and on checking, evaluating and questioning these experiences rather than introducing strict directives or didactic modules straight away;
- a vision of the school as part of a system, influencing its surroundings and influenced by them in a continual exchange;
- a commitment to understand both the realities of the students' countries of origin and their local realities, linking the two through a process that traces the connections (in both directions) between the 'near' and the 'far';
- a central focus on the child, on his or her rights in general, and specifically on the child's right to express opinions and to participate in the process of Education for Development.

The idea was not to introduce a new subject into the curriculum, but rather to promote an openness towards new inputs, encouraging children's curiosity and creating opportunities for discussions of the problems of the developing world and North/South relations.

This approach, which spread to thousands of Italian schools in the 1980s, soon had to address the issue of immigrant children. As early as 1985-1986, a year-long pilot project on 'foreigners in Rome' was set up in collaboration with Roman schools. In their final report, schoolchildren asked polemically: "But how many immigrant children are there in Rome? Why can't anyone give us exact figures? Why doesn't anyone seem to know anything about them, not even the local school boards?"

Subsequently, immigration, racism and the education of immigrant children gained much greater prominence in Education for Development activities. An important advocacy campaign was initiated in 1993-1994, with Education for Development literature distributed to schools nationwide. More than 12,000 schools as well as many NGOs participated actively in the campaign (Italian National Committee for UNICEF, 1991 and 1993; Micali Baratelli, 1993). This effort provided ample scope for evaluation, criticism and self-criticism, strongly influencing government responses to intercultural education. (One result is that the Italian Ministry of Education has officially supported UNICEF's school campaigns for the past three years.)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

RECOGNIZING PREJUDICES – JEWS AND NON-JEWS

In Italy, local organizations – at regional, provincial and municipal levels – are strongly committed to intercultural education and to the fight against racism. A commitment, as one official from the provincial education department of Rome observed, "to give young people a chance to think about racism and intolerance and the complex relationship between the individual's right to be integrated into the community and the parallel right to have his or her diversity respected". In this spirit, 12 Roman secondary schools were selected to participate in a unique action-research project entitled 'Know Your Neighbour'. Promoted jointly by the Provincial Administration of Rome and the international 'Doron Foundation' and carried out by the Teachers' Cooperative for a Democratic School (CISD), the project aims to encourage students to think about and recognize the many everyday prejudices in Italian society, starting with an important minority group, the Roman Jews. Schools on the outskirts of Rome were chosen as these are high-risk areas where, as one student commented: "Anti-semitism is 'in'. When we're at the stadium, we like shouting Nazi slogans." Here, racism lashes out against anyone who is different, and punitive Saturday-night raids against immigrants are becoming more frequent.

Using a methodology halfway between oral history and anthropological field research, students carried out a series of interviews during the course of the academic year in the 'Ghetto' (the Jewish section in the heart of Rome). They were invited into Jewish homes, visited the synagogue and collected the testimonies of survivors of the Fascist era who had witnessed the deportations of Roman Jews to concentration camps. This exercise enabled them to form a clear idea of the family life, religion and history of the Roman Jewish community. In the process, the students discovered the various links of the Jewish community with the social and cultural life of the city. At the end of the year, they organized a Jewish dinner together with students from Roman Jewish schools.

The final questionnaire and exhibition of the students' project work (CISD, 1994) mainly attest to the students' astonishment at a reality they had known nothing about, their persistent curiosity, and their lingering uncertainties about the mechanisms that form prejudices. As Claudio Spizzichino, Director for Italy of the Doron Foundation, observed: "We have perhaps cleared a path for overcoming prejudice, not just against the Jews, but more generally against all ethnic minorities: the path of knowledge, the discovery of common bonds and curiosity about the history and culture of the 'others'." This approach is now being extended to other, more recent, ethnic minorities in Rome: the 'new' immigrants.

This accent on the ordinary is an essential component of intercultural education projects. Racism is, in fact, a process that is created and reproduced in the routine acts of everyday life, in verbal and non-verbal language as well as in relationships in which the 'other' is aware of the distance, the mistrust, the deprecation or even the condescension and magnanimous tolerance that mask a deep-seated rejection.

Much of the material used in this chapter was generated by that campaign, either directly, or indirectly through contacts, initiatives and programmes connected with it.

Beyond Superficial Anti-racism

Research recently carried out in secondary schools in north-western Italy (Volpato, 1991 and 1992) revealed an "aversion towards immigrants" among students that had been quite hidden until then. Teachers were caught by surprise: their students, they had thought, were 'nice kids', immune to racism, as their compositions and class tests could prove. The teachers, however, had misread the situation. Presented with explicit questions, students had been able to mask their racist attitudes under 'correct' statements of solidarity. It would perhaps have been more useful, one teacher later pointed out, to let students express their own prejudices and preconceptions, and then build from there, rather than immediately interposing another viewpoint.

The 'learning goal', both within and outside the school, should certainly be to learn to respect diversity and to benefit from it. It should, however, also, and most importantly, be to learn to give consideration to the conflicts that the presence of the 'other' inevitably provokes, and to develop skills for resolving conflicts rather than denying their existence. 'Negotiate and discuss, don't obstruct and preach' is good advice for everyone and not just teachers. For while it is relatively simple to speak about racism, to claim to espouse anti-racist principles, it is much more difficult to work concretely towards a

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

society that is "only a bit racist", to quote the Italian sociologist Laura Balbo (Balbo and Manconi, 1990 and 1992). And the process of working towards a more equitable society, in which different immigrant populations enjoy some of the features of citizenship, is a much more complex proposition than in the past. It is a process yet to be shaped and 'invented'.

Integration and Children's Rights: The Story of Atif

Atif, an eight-year-old Pakistani, is in grade three at an Italian state primary school. He is fairly well integrated into the school and has little difficulty speaking Italian. Perhaps his main problem is the school cafeteria, as he does not eat pork. Early in the year, however, he became very unhappy at school. His teacher had decided to develop a series of intercultural education lessons around him. For an entire week the teacher found innumerable opportunities to talk about Pakistan – its language and history, its customs, even Pakistani recipes. At first, Atif willingly told the class about his country of origin, but after a few days he inevitably felt he was being put on stage and refused to say a word. Encouraged yet again to talk about Pakistan, he replied, "I'm sick of being Pakistani. I just want to be a child!"

This episode, recounted during an Education for Development conference organized by the Italian National Committee for UNICEF in 1992, is not just an amusing anecdote. It is indicative of the critical thinking and self-criticism with which the Italian school has approached intercultural education and discrimination. There is now widespread recognition that the school in Italy must strike a balance between national identity and a more global perspective. This knowledge commits the school not only to educate children from other cultures, but also to value these cultures as a patrimony that children have a right to enjoy. The school's objective is thus to protect the immigrant child's diversity and sense of identity while seeking to combat the Italian child's ethnocentrism.

The story of Atif serves as a reminder that particular care must be taken when 'using' children as educational resources for Education for Development programmes. One of the worst errors teachers can make is to disregard the rights and wishes of the individual child they have before them.

From their first school experiences, young immigrants, especially children learning to read and write, have a strong inclination to acquire verbal and non-verbal behaviours resembling those of their native-born classmates (MPI-SIARES, 1992). Sociological research has in fact shown that the peer group has a fundamental influence in formative processes, representing for children and adolescents a reference point to contrast with adult positions. The conflict is often expressed on a linguistic level, and has a strong impact on personality formation, especially among adolescents. Children frequently learn the host-country language and forget their native tongue – vehicle and expression of the traditional values and culture. Particularly important here are children's perceptions that their parents have somehow lost status because they belong to a different and marginal culture. "The family's language, the language of its origins, of affection, of food, of the mother, in many cases is abandoned in favour of the second language, the language as 'instrument', which allows the foreign child to be accepted outside of his or her family" (Favaro, 1990).

While it is obviously difficult to generalize, it is worth stressing that these conflicts should be given careful consideration in intercultural education projects. It is particularly important to avoid stereotypes. A favourite commonplace among Italian teachers, for example, is that teaching Chinese children is easy on a cognitive level (and especially so in the case of scientific and mathematical subjects), but difficult on a socialization level because of the strong cohesiveness of the Chinese community. Yet, the few studies available show that Chinese children in Italian schools are frequently reluctant to continue studying their mother tongue (MPI-SIARES, 1992). A conflict therefore exists, even if

sometimes only latent, between the aspirations of the ethnic group and those of the individual child: it is courting trouble to forget it.

More generally, and also in relation to adult literacy courses, it is worth underscoring that multicultural education, which targets only specific ethnic or cultural groups, can result in a 'stigmatization' of the individual. Care must be taken to avoid situations in which, perhaps even in innocuous ways, the individual's freedom of choice is limited. When students are obliged to take special courses or to attend a particular cultural centre, they are in fact turned into hostages "tied forever to a culture only because of their ethnic origins, which is what happens when an individual's personal identity is confused with his or her collective identity" (Bottani, 1990).

The Role of Curiosity in Education

A technical school in Rome uses most unusual texts for French lessons: French/Maghrebi rap. This is an excellent way to whet students' curiosity about the French language, while building on a passion they already have. And it helps them to learn about a complex minority group and break away from the current stereotype of the Maghrebi immigrant. In an area of Rome where racism is Saturday night's live entertainment, the importance of this should not be underestimated.

Music, of course, is not the only entry point to understanding ethnic minorities: developing-country games and, even more frequently, cuisines are used as 'educational resources'. Teachers encourage students to

Immigrant children tend to acquire verbal and non-verbal behaviours resembling those of their native-born classmates

rediscover the worldwide roots of Italian cuisine, discussing recipes and popular foods from historical to present times. The Italians' traditional curiosity about and passion for food, commented one observer, has done more than any sermon to bring Italians closer to developing countries.

The subject is actually more serious than it appears. Curiosity is one of the most valuable tools that children have, and one that they are particularly adept at using. Children learn about the world and situate themselves in it by exploring, seeking and finding. They frequently ask difficult questions, the kind that adults are generally too embarrassed to ask, and the kind that show up the preconceptions and prejudices just under the surface of that perfunctory tolerance of others so prevalent in the adult world.

One classic technique of intercultural education is role play. Children enjoy pretending to be different people and reveal a great deal about themselves in the process, especially their extraordinary zest for discovery. Role-play techniques show the importance of teaching methods that lead children almost to 'stumble' on problems, freeing their creativity and desire for knowledge, and enabling them to identify and learn about these problems in new ways.

Do's and Don'ts: The Vicenza Handbook

In Vicenza, a north-western Italian city, a group of primary-school teachers and local school officials taking part in a refresher course wrote *The Teachers' Handbook for the Integration and Schooling of Foreigners*. The handbook, which is an excellent idea in itself, is particularly innovative in that it tackles a sensitive theme, 'Teachers' Attitudes and Activities'. Findings are summarized in a two-column matrix of 'Do's' and 'Don'ts'.

Examples of what teachers should *not* do include: regard children only as pupils; consider tests and other measures as infallible; put children back a year in the belief that initial disparities linked to their limited knowledge of Italian will be lasting; ignore and underestimate the student's knowledge (spoken and usually also written) of their mother tongue (their first language) while underscoring their deficiencies and difficulties in Italian (their second language); count on private lessons to help students catch up with the class level; emphasize written Italian in the initial phases; use idiomatic expressions and expect foreign students to understand them immediately; and use abstract and wordy language.

This advice is at once obvious and surprising (especially the self-criticism about language). It reveals an acute awareness that the school's treatment of students implicates their futures. It also shows a recognition that the school may sometimes seem to immigrant children more like an obstacle course than a place meant to fulfil their fundamental rights.

The proposals in the 'Do's' column are more numerous. Apart from some general advice, a number of suggestions are reminders of the fundamental purpose of intercultural education, beyond the immediate tasks of schooling. Some of the things that teachers should do are: collect information about foreign children's culture in the local context; assign students to classes appropriate to their ages, planning classwork with flexibility; insist during their first months in school that foreign children acquire functional literacy (knowledge of simple, everyday words and phrases) in Italian so that they have an 'instrument' enabling them to interact with their environment; teach Italian to foreigners with the same care that it is taught to native speakers, adapting the pace to the effective capacities of the students; alternate the discussion of local culture with topics relating to the immigrant culture (Volpato, 1992).

Another theme that comes out strongly in the handbook is that the school can find resources in the foreign student, even from a linguistic point of view. In fact, although great precaution is needed, as the story of Atif has shown, it does seem possible that schools can 'use' minority students as part of an interactive teaching process that exploits (in a positive sense) the cultural diversity between Italian and foreign students. A foreign language could, for example, form the basis of a

comparative language programme. This kind of positive rethinking of intercultural education underlies many of the 'Do's' and 'Don'ts' set down in the handbook.

Conclusions

Approaches to the education of ethnic minority children need to be thought out more carefully, both in Italy and in other Western European countries. Partly because of the emergency situation, these approaches have until now given little importance to the need to respect and protect the cultural identities of foreign children. Striking a balance, albeit precarious and constantly questioned, between traditional identity and acquired culture is essentially painful. However, this balance can be achieved with less suffering and less wasted individual and collective effort if individuals recognize that they are both victims and protagonists of processes existing in a wider context. Making educative processes central to the reception, schooling, acculturation and professional training of ethnic minorities is an important way of influencing this balance. This approach also forms a point of reference on which to build – and again question and evaluate critically – effective integration policies.

Intercultural education tends to make manifest and satisfy the need that the majority

Chinese schoolchildren jubilantly introducing their Florentine schoolmates to their traditional dragon

culture has to recognize, receive and respect the minority groups that are found in its midst. It is worth asking, however, how this actually benefits the minority groups themselves. The answer cannot be found by staying within the limits of equality of possibilities and respect for differences. In practice, the dilemma of the basic objectives underlying education policies for minorities – integration/assimilation versus separation/stigmatization – is both a conditioning factor and a pseudo problem. It is a conditioning factor because in defining the form and content of education, policies have to choose between strategies promoting a common culture and those favouring distinct ethnic cultures. At the same time, the dilemma is only apparent because the distinction between the two positions is blurred when seen in the complex and infinitely variable reality of social processes. In practice, the choice between integration and separation, more than a dilemma, represents a tension between different cultures and social images, which blend and clash, producing a precarious equilibrium that must constantly be renegotiated in the light of changing economic and social conditions.

But precisely because intercultural education involves exchange and reciprocity and a continual renegotiation of balances, it requires planning that is rooted in the reality of the schools. It requires an awareness of what is being done, why it is being done and the goals to be achieved. On an operational level, it means adapting school subjects, which Gokalp (1989) calls 'subjects of otherness': history needs to be extended in time; geography, in space; literature and the arts, in the time and space of the individual and social imagination, and so forth. On a practical level, three steps are now both indispensable and urgent:

- a revision of manuals and textbooks;
- in-service training courses for teachers (including teachers not already involved in pilot projects, so as to avoid the creation of a few happy 'islands' for immigrant children in the general indifference of the school system);
- the involvement of local authorities, NGOs, institutions and private social structures in the intercultural education projects promoted by the school (to ensure that the diverse educational structures, both formal and non-formal, do not apply different educational policies for the same immigrant groups).

Finally, it is worth recalling that migration entails a two-sided relationship – 'we' and 'they' – and the 'minority problem' is actually the problem of the majority (Lewin, 1980). The important role education plays, together with improved forms of communication, in determining the relationship between the majority culture and immigrant minorities should therefore not be underestimated. As Teodoro Ndjock Ngana, protagonist of one of the most interesting Italian intercultural education projects, has noted: "By setting up barriers to knowledge and information, we are setting up barriers to peace." All of us – adults and children alike – have a lot to lose from these barriers.

For ethnic minority children, including these young Gypsies in Italy, striking a balance between traditional identity and acquired culture can be a painful process

References

BALBO, L. and MANCONI, L., *I razzismi possibili*, Feltrinelli, Milan, 1990.

BALBO, L. and MANCONI, L., *I razzismi reali*, Feltrinelli, Milan, 1992.

BASTENIER, A. *et al.*, *Les politiques sociales à l'égard des immigrés*, UNESCO, Paris, 1988.

BERQUE, J., *Des nouveaux minoritaires dans la cité européenne*, European Parliament, Strasbourg, 1991.

BLACK, M., *The Children and the Nations*, UNICEF, Sydney, 1986.

BLOT, D., 'Problèmes posés par la scolarisation des enfants des immigrants', paper presented at the International Conference on Migration, OCDE, Paris, 1991.

BOLTANI, N., 'L'enigma scolastico dei figli di emigranti', paper presented at the International Conference on 'Educational Problems of Cultural and Linguistic Minorities', organized by the Province of Reggio Emilia in 1990.

CARITAS, *Immigrazione—dossier statistico*, Sinnos, Rome, 1993.

CENSIS, *Migrare e accogliere. I percorsi differenziati dell'integrazione*, Rome, 1990.

CISD, *Conosci il tuo vicino. Materiali di lavoro e relazioni delle scuole*, Rome, 1994.

ELDERING, L. and KLOPROGGE, J. (eds.), *Different Cultures. Same School. Ethnic Minority Children in Europe*, Swets and Zeitlinger, Amsterdam, 1989.

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, *L'éducation interculturelle. Concept, contexte, programme*, Strasbourg, 1989.

FAVARO, G., *I colori dell'infanzia. Bambini stranieri nei servizi educativi*, Guerini, Milan, 1990.

FRITZINGER, O., *Integrazione di bambini stranieri nel settore pre-scolastico e scolastico nella Repubblica Federale di Germania*, Ital-UIL, Rome, 1984.

GOKALP, A., 'L'école face a la diversité de ses publics', in *Revue Européenne des migrations internationales*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1989.

GOULLAUD, M., 'Commentaire à M. de Certeau. Economies éthniques: pour une école de la diversité', in CERI, *L'école et les cultures*, OCDE, Paris, 1989.

ITALIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR UNICEF, Lodi, D., Porfiri, E. and Zocchi, P. (eds.), 'Diritto all'uguaglianza, diritto alla differenza', in *Quaderni per l'educazione allo sviluppo*, Ameia, Rome, 1991.

ITALIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR UNICEF, Baldassare, L. and Lodi, D. (eds.), 'I nuovi razzismi', in *Quaderni per l'educazione allo sviluppo*, Ameia, Rome, 1993.

LABOS, *Politiche sociali e bisogni degli immigrati*, Ministry of the Interior, Civil Service Headquarters, F.E.R., Rome, 1991.

LEWIS, K., *I conflitti sociali. Saggi di dinamica di gruppo*, Franco Angeli, Milan, 1980.

MICALI BARATELLI, C., 'Vivere l'amicizia e prevenire il razzismo', in Italian National Committee for UNICEF, *Mondodomani*, Special Edition, 'Proposte didattiche', August-September 1993.

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION-CENTRE FOR IMMIGRATION STUDIES, Rome, *Indagine sulla presenza straniera e sulle attività interculturali nelle scuole materne, elementari e medie*, MPI-CSER, Rome, 1992.

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION-SIARES, *Bisogni di formazione nelle nuove minoranze in Italia*, MPI, Cultural Exchange Section, Rome, 1992.

PADRUN, R., *Development Education in Six Industrialized Countries*, Food and Agriculture Organization, Rome, 1974.

PERROTTA, A., *Bambini immigrati*, Datanews, Rome, 1991.

SUSI, E., 'Scuola, educazione, società multietnica', in Italian National Committee for UNICEF, *op. cit.*, 1991.

VOLPATO, C., 'Il diritto all'uguaglianza nella realtà scolastica di una provincia italiana: riflessioni su alcune ricerche', in Italian National Committee for UNICEF, *op. cit.*, 1991.

VOLPATO, C., 'La Scuola dell'obbligo in provincia di Vicenza', in Ministry of Education-SIARES, *op. cit.*, 1992.

PANEL 2

THE MONITORING PROCESS AND THE CASE OF INDIGENOUS CHILDREN

Since entering into force on 2 September 1990, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) has been ratified by 174 nations. States Parties to the Convention are initially obliged to report within two years and subsequently every five years to a special treaty body, the Committee on the Rights of the Child, which has been set up to monitor Governments' compliance with the Convention. The Committee is composed of ten experts elected for a four-year renewable term. The prerequisites for the position are "high moral standing and recognized competence" in the children's rights field.

Article 45 of the Convention defines the methods of work of the Committee. It establishes that the Committee may (a) invite the specialized agencies, UNICEF and "competent bodies", including non-governmental organizations (NGOs), "as it may consider appropriate to provide expert advice on the implementation of the Convention ..."; (b) transmit to the specialized agencies, UNICEF and other competent bodies, States Parties' reports that "contain a request, or indicate a need, for technical advice or assistance"; (c) recommend that the United Nations undertake studies on specific children's rights issues; and (d) "make suggestions and general recommendations based on information received".

NGOs may also submit information to the Committee, including a critique of the State Party report in the form of an 'alternative report'. National coalitions of NGOs have been formed in several countries to prepare 'alternative reports'. Noteworthy among these to date is the network of 183 organizations that contributed to the 'alternative report' from the United Kingdom, UK Agenda for Children, *published by the Children's Rights Development Unit in April 1994.*

Under Article 44 (para. 6) of the Convention, States Parties have an obligation to make their reports widely available to the general public within their countries. Recognizing the need to make as much information as possible available not only within specific countries but also internationally, UNICEF Geneva and the United Nations Centre for Human Rights have developed a full text database of children's rights information. The database holds information about Committee members, terms of office, meetings of the Committee, the text of the Convention, declarations, reservations, objections, dates of signing and ratification, the full text of State Party reports, concluding observations, country analyses, NGO 'alternative reports', summary records and the United States Department of State human rights reports.

The database has comprehensive searching capacities. A search conducted in September 1995, for example, yielded, almost instantaneously, a list of every document in the database in which the word 'indigenous' appeared. Thereafter, the full text of a number of documents was accessed and the exact location of the discussion of indigenous issues quickly reached. The search provided many examples of different aspects of the situation of indigenous children. From this wealth of information, the situation of indigenous children in the Philippines will be discussed in detail and a summary provided of salient indigenous issues in a number of other countries.

INDIGENOUS CHILDREN IN THE PHILIPPINES

The case of indigenous children in the Philippines has been singled out for a number of reasons. First, the Philippines was one of the first States to become party to the Convention, and consequently the Committee has already considered its initial report and adopted concluding observations on it. Second, the Philippine NGO coalition has submitted a detailed 'alternative report', which can usefully be contrasted with the State Party report. Third, excerpts from the State Party report, the NGO 'alternative report' and the Committee's concluding observations together form a composite picture that not only reveals a good deal about the situation of indigenous children in the Philippines but also raises issues of a more universal nature.

Philippines State Party Report (CRC/C/3/Add.23)

In a pre-ratification review of existing laws and policies on child survival, development and protection,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

it was found that there were no national laws specifically relating to children of minorities or indigenous communities (para. 11). To harmonize national law and policy with the Convention, the Government passed a Special Protection Act, which affirms that indigenous children are "entitled to protection, survival and development consistent with the customs and traditions of their respective communities". The Act envisages the institution of culture-specific and relevant alternative systems of education. It also states that the delivery of basic services in health and nutrition to indigenous children should be given priority, that indigenous children should receive equal attention in hospitals and other health institutions, and that indigenous health practices should be respected (paras. 252-254).

The report admits that despite this strong legal framework, the inaccessibility of most of the areas where indigenous communities live has constrained effective delivery of services to them. Moreover, natural calamities have aggravated the situation by destroying existing infrastructure."Infrastructure problems which reduce physical access to schools..., funding constraints, and lack of teachers, classrooms, other school facilities and institutional materials" are factors that work against the full realization of children's rights in indigenous areas (para. 183).

The State Party identifies three implementation priorities relating to indigenous issues over the next five years: "the gathering of baseline data on children of indigenous communities, together with a comprehensive assessment of their needs, and the regular monitoring of service delivery to them" (para. 256).

NGO 'Alternative Report'

The NGO 'alternative report', entitled *Philippines NGO Coalition*, was issued on 24 March 1994 by the NGO Coalition for Monitoring the Convention on the Rights of the Child. The report sustains that "children of indigenous peoples have little or no access to education, health services, safe water, etc., due to their geographical location and discrimination. Half of the child victims of the armed conflict are children of indigenous peoples." Indigenous leaders "have explicitly stated that the schools ... discriminate against the children of tribal communities" and that "students who graduate are alienated from their cultural communities because of this failure to consider and truly respect their culture and life styles".

"Pressures put upon tribal families result in family break-ups due to economic hardships and the gradual disintegration of their culture. The incursion of so-called development projects into their communities, infringing on their ancestral domain, rudely disrupts their lives by causing dislocation of hundreds of families. ... The small number of children who could avail of public education (by walking long distances to school everyday) ... still have to contend with discrimination by lowlanders. The kind of education they receive is usually culturally inappropriate. Moreover, the vigorous marketing of junk food, cigarettes and other lowland commercial products, the reduction in the use of herbal medicine due to the proliferation of western medicine, and destruction of forests which is their source of food and herbal medicine, have aggravated the already deteriorating health situation of indigenous children."

This section of the NGO report concludes by stating that "it is only by enabling the survival and continuing growth of indigenous peoples, respecting their rights to self-determination and to their ancestral domain that children of indigenous peoples will truly be protected". The report urges the Government to take steps to provide basic social services to indigenous children in ways that genuinely respect their own culture and way of life while working towards a determination of their "best interests".

Committee's Concluding Observations (CRC/C/15/Add.29, 15/02/95)

The Committee expressed satisfaction at the commitment the Philippines has shown by enacting new laws and by adopting a National Plan of Action for Children following the 1990 World Summit for Children. Despite "serious efforts and achievements in the area of legislative reform", however, the Committee felt that additional steps were needed to bring national legislation into full conformity with the Convention. Laws were needed, for instance, relating to the minimum age of access to employment, the compulsory schooling age limit, the minimum age of criminal responsibility, and the administration of juvenile justice, including deprivation of liberty and criminalization of vagrancy (para. 8). Moreover, more attention should be paid to the ➥

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Convention's Article 4 concerning the allocation of resources. "The present balance of resource allocation in the State Party between the social and other sectors, and the high proportion of military expenditures to the detriment of child-related issues were two areas needing attention. Other areas of concern were the unequal distribution of national wealth and disparities in the enjoyment of the rights provided for under the Convention, to the detriment of poor urban children, children living in rural areas and children belonging to minorities (or 'cultural' communities)" (para. 10). The Committee was also "preoccupied by the level of violence and the high incidence of ill-treatment and abuse of children, including cases attributed to the police or military personnel" (para. 14).

The Committee recommended that "more children's rights-oriented training programmes ... be organized for various professional groups such as teachers, judges, social workers and police officials. Such programmes should emphasize the promotion and protection of the fundamental rights of the child and the child's sense of dignity." NGOs and children and youth groups were also encouraged "to pay attention to the need to change attitudes as part of their advocacy action" (para. 22).

The Committee emphasized that the principle of non-discrimination, as provided for under Article 2 of the Convention, must be fully applied. It urged the Government to take a more active approach to eliminate discrimination against certain groups of children, including indigenous children (para. 23). It also recommended that a comprehensive reform of the system of administration of juvenile justice be undertaken, and encouraged the State Party to seek technical assistance in this area from the Centre for Human Rights and the Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch of the United Nations (para 27).

INDIGENOUS CHILDREN ELSEWHERE

The situation of indigenous peoples in the Philippines is in many ways strikingly similar to their situation elsewhere:

- In *Bolivia*, despite the current democratic context, "many indigenous children are still discriminated against and special attention needs to be paid to their participation in society". Moreover, because Spanish is the official language of instruction, Aymara, Quechua or Guarani children are prevented from enjoying their education rights. "The Ministry of Education, supported by UNESCO, is in the pilot stage of a project for intercultural and multilingual education that will enable these children to learn in their autochthonous language as well as in Spanish" (Initial report, CRC/C/3/ADD.18, 22/06/93). In a discussion session, the Committee asked the State Party's representative if the adoption of the Roman Catholic religion as the 'official State religion' was not in contradiction with the right of indigenous children to have their own religion and culture. Specific information was also requested concerning the translation of the Convention into the indigenous languages (paras. 23 and 46, CRC/C/SR.52, 22/01/93). In its concluding observations, the Committee expressed its concern that the "vulnerable groups of children, including girl children, indigenous children and children living in poverty, are particularly disadvantaged in their access to adequate health and educational facilities and are the primary victims of such abuses as sale and trafficking, child labour and sexual and other forms of exploitation" (CRC/C/15/ADD.1, 18/02/93).
- In *Colombia*, the indigenous communities won recognition of their cultural identity in the 1991 Constitution, which provides that Colombia is a multicultural nation (Initial report,CRC/C/8/Add.3, 10/06/93). In preliminary observations, the Committee expressed its concern over the significant gap between the laws adopted to protect and promote children's rights and their practical application. It also noted the existence of discriminatory and adverse social attitudes, particularly among law enforcement officials, towards vulnerable groups of children (CRC/C/15/Add.15, 7/02/93). The Committee concluded that despite "one of the most favourable economic growth rates and one of the lowest amounts of per capita foreign indebtedness in the region, ... many children ..., including a large proportion of rural and indigenous children, have been economically and socially marginalized and have limited or no access to adequate education or health care services" (para. 11, CRC/C/15/Add.30, 15/02/95).
- In *Honduras*, according to the Committee, "greater efforts are required to make the principles and provisions of the Convention widely known to and understood by adults and children alike". Such information should be prepared in the languages of children belonging to minorities or indigenous groups and should reach the people

living in the remoter rural areas. Training material and programmes about the rights of the child should also be prepared and provided to personnel and professionals working with children, including judges, teachers, those working in institutions for children and law enforcement officials (para. 23). In addition, the Committee suggested that the State Party consider the possibility of adopting adequate measures to implement ILO Convention No. 169, concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples (para. 35, concluding observations, CRC/15/ADD.24, 24/10/94).

- In *Paraguay*, the State Party report informs, there are 17 ethnic groups, belonging to five linguistic families. According to the 1982 National Census of the Indigenous Population, of the 29,437 children of school age, 33 per cent (9,732 children) had attended primary school and 173 children (0.58) secondary school. The percentage that went on to university is not known (para. 147,CRC/C/3/Add.22, undated). The Committee noted in its concluding observations the persistence of discrimination against children belonging to minority and indigenous groups, contrary to the provisions of Article 2 of the Convention (para. 8, CRC/C/15/ADD.27, 24/10/94).

INFORMATION AND THE MONITORING PROCESS

Self-criticism by the States Parties themselves is particularly important as it is indicative of the political will to recognize and tackle existing shortcomings, which is the first step towards the realization of children's rights. The NGO 'alternative reports', of course, tend to be far more critical of the country situation, which is consistent with the NGO's traditional 'gadfly' role in relation to governments. The Committee itself takes the information provided by different sources into consideration and endeavours to measure each country's performance in fulfilling its obligations under the Convention.

One of the tasks of the Committee is to monitor the monitoring process within each individual country. In the case of the Philippines, the Committee pointed out in its concluding observations that "the lack of efficient mechanisms to monitor the situation of children is a matter of concern". Especially serious were the "lack of reliable qualitative and quantitative data, a shortage of means to implement programmes, and a lack of indicators and mechanisms to evaluate the progress and impact of policies adopted" (para. 20, CRC/C/15/Add. 29, 15/02/95). The NGO 'alternative report' of Mexico, *Children's Rights and the Situation of Children in Mexico*, submitted by the Colectivo Mexicano de Apoyo a la Niñez (COMEXANI), discussed some of the difficulties encountered in obtaining data. Although there were grass-roots organizations with first-hand knowledge that could make important contributions to the analysis of the situation of vulnerable children, including in indigenous areas, they had not been able to collaborate because they lacked time or adequate information-handling tools. Specific support for research about the human rights situation of indigenous children was needed.

Even when it is generally satisfied with the comprehensiveness of the State Party report, as in the case of Sweden, the Committee has sustained that "more information is needed on the situation of vulnerable groups, particularly minority children, including indigenous children, and neglected children in the major city areas" (concluding observations, CRC/C/15/Add.2,18/02/93). The *UK Agenda for Children* pointed out that the Committee had "already formally considered about 20 initial reports ..., and shown that the exercise is by no means one of rubber-stamping. There has been rigorous interrogation, requests for detailed further information, and in one case a State has been asked to withdraw its report and submit a more detailed one" (page xii). In the Preface to this same report, the Committee's Chair Hoda Badran states that a "critical part" of the process of translating the Convention's provisions into effective change in children's lives is "the need for detailed monitoring and evaluation of how far the rights contained in the Convention are respected in individual countries. Only with such information is it possible to begin to identify the changes that are needed. Only through such a process is it possible to open up a debate about the rights and status of children in society." In sum, much information is already available, but much more is needed.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

EDUCATION AND THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF LATIN AMERICA

LUCIA D'EMILIO

"It is said that the ideal meeting is between a grandfather who has already lost his memory and a grandson who does not yet have a memory. Nevertheless, this will not be the starting point of our great efforts to ensure that the memory which is retained by our sons and daughters is neither our own nor the one lost by their grandparents."

Federico Mayor (1993)

Introduction

Significant advances have been made in recent years in the situation of the world's indigenous peoples in general and their access to education in particular. The World Conference on Education for All, held in Jomtien, Thailand, in March 1990, and the International Year for the Indigenous Peoples of the World, celebrated in 1993 and soon to become a decade, have had an impact not only on national policies towards indigenous peoples but also on multilateral and bilateral cooperation. These global events have pointed to the need for educational programmes that respond to indigenous people's basic learning needs — an education that, at least in Latin America, should be bilingual and intercultural.

Today there is greater acceptance than in the past of the rights of indigenous peoples to be consulted in matters that affect them and to participate in decision-making at all levels of government, including at the international level where they are now more widely recognized as interlocutors. These rights are formally acknowledged in the 1989 International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples (No. 169). Indigenous peoples have therefore entered the political scene as new actors, which in turn has contributed to enhancing the internal democracy of the countries concerned (Calderón *et al.*, 1993). Indeed, while in Europe ethnicity is currently associated with wars and intolerance, in some Latin American countries ethnic plurality is increasingly viewed as an enriching factor. Even in the case of the indigenous uprising in Chiapas, Mexico, the claims advanced were not of a separatist nature.

Statements made at the Ibero-American Summits in Guadalajara, Mexico, and Madrid, Spain, in 1991 and 1992 respectively, indicate a radical turnabout in the official language used in indigenous policies. This change of attitude is also apparent in the 1989 ILO Convention, which refers in its Preamble to the need for "new international standards ... with a view to removing the assimilationist orientation of the earlier standards". The heightened respect for indigenous cultures and identities is reflected in the national legislation of several States. Nicaragua and Chile have enacted specific laws in favour of indigenous populations; Argentina and Bolivia have given greater attention in their education policies to cultural and linguistic diversity; Brazil, Colombia and Paraguay have amended their constitutions, making them more pluralist and democratic.

However, if official statements and legal provisions suggest improved relations and

greater dialogue between indigenous peoples and governments, the everyday reality of these populations still leaves little cause for optimism. Their dealings with middle-level public officials, for instance, remain contentious. Moreover, their economic progress lags far behind their political gains. In some countries, changes in agrarian policies have negatively affected the interests of indigenous communities and are likely to have serious repercussions on their social situation and the environment.

Social Indicators and Statistics

Most Latin American countries are multiethnic. The continent as a whole is populated by 400 ethnic groups accounting for about 40 million persons. Some countries, notably Bolivia and Guatemala, have an indigenous majority, representing over 60 per cent of the total population, while others, such as Colombia, Venezuela and Argentina, have far lower indigenous percentages.

Until recently, indigenous populations were grossly underestimated in national and regional statistics. 'Negation' of their existence was in practice an essential part of the assimilation policies prevalent in most modern States, as has been well documented (see, for example, Bonfin Batalla, 1987; FLACSO, 1982; Inter-American Indigenous Institute, 1990; Stavenhagen, 1980; and Stavenhagen

There are 400 ethnic groups in Latin America accounting for about 40 million persons.

and Nolasco, 1988). Demographic statistics relating to indigenous children were particularly inaccurate. One reason is that, in the absence of precise indicators on who should be considered indigenous, many censuses adopted language as the defining criterion, thereby excluding young children (Peyser and Chackiel, 1993). As a result, sociolinguistic data collected in various countries have suggested that indigenous populations are elderly, when they are in fact young and have high fertility rates (CELADE, 1992). This inaccuracy has inevitably impacted negatively on national education policies.

Recent censuses in many countries have made progress in correcting previous underreporting, and have also highlighted the dramatic gulf in social indicators between indigenous and non-indigenous populations:

- In Colombia, according to the 1993 indigenous census, the population of the Wayuu (commonly known as the Guajiros) is 50 per cent higher than previously reported. Almost 70 per cent have had no access to education; only 21 per cent have completed primary education; and a mere 1 per cent have had access to higher education. Less than one third of the Wayuu are bilingual, whereas 64 per cent speak only their own language (Wayuuniki), and 3 per cent speak only Spanish (Ruiz and Bodnar, 1993).
- In Chile, a recent study puts the Mapuche population at 900,000 instead of 500,000 as estimated earlier (Aylwin, 1993). The infant mortality rate for this indigenous group is more than double the national average and their average life expectancy is similar to early-1970 levels for the country as a whole (CELADE, 1991).
- In Venezuela, 1992 indigenous census data show that almost 58 per cent of the indigenous population is under 20 years of age and 55.6 per cent of the 5-24 age group do not attend school. Moreover, 65.6 per cent of indigenous communities have no schools, and 86.8 per cent have no dispensaries for medicaments (Allais, 1993).
- In Guatemala and in Bolivia, the mean earnings of non-indigenous populations are estimated to be respectively 2.37 and 1.62 times higher than those of indigenous people (Psacharopoulous, 1992). The same World Bank study notes that in countries with a high proportion of ethnic population, "those who are indigenous have much lower levels of educational attainment and receive less rewards in the labour market relative to the non-indigenous group. We also conclude that education is a good investment for both groups, i.e. including the indigenous people" (ibid., p. 19).

Education and Indigenous Peoples: Who Decides?

Clearly, indigenous peoples themselves should assume responsibility, jointly with the government, for their own education. For this kind of collaboration to occur, fundamental changes in education policies are needed, so as to leave "an ever greater amount of decision-making power in the hands of the communities with regard to the contents, methods and, in general, organization and functioning of the school system". This would require "something more than 'taking into account' the opinion of the communities: it means accepting and respecting their decisions" (Bonfil Batalla, 1987, p. 241).

In the past, governments entrusted missionaries with the education and 'development' of indigenous 'souls' (see box on p. 27). Today, even if there are still many church-run schools, indigenous families and communities are following other paths and are increasingly critical of earlier education models, even those that were bilingual. They are also far more involved in the education process itself, either individually or through ethnic or multiethnic organizations that represent them at national and international levels. Mainly set up to work for land rights, these organizations now also champion improved educational measures. Among the most notable are the National Indigenous Organization of Colombia (ONIC), the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE), the Indigenous Association of the Peruvian Forest (AIDESEP), the East Bolivian Indigenous Confederation (CIDOB), the Assembly of the Guarani People (APG) in Bolivia, and, at the subregional level, the Indigenous Confederation of the Amazonian Basin (COICA).

Indigenous organizations have taken a strong stand against educational measures that disregard their people's cultural identities and languages. They are especially mistrustful of 'top-down' approaches imposed by governments and international donors, even when programmes have supposedly been scaled to their needs (López, 1994). If forced to accept this type of programme because no others are available, they try, whenever possible, to make improvements in it.

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) work actively with indigenous organizations and communities in the field of education. As governments and international donors have become more open to cooperating with indigenous peoples and their organizations, NGOs have gradually ceased to act as intermediaries and have taken up a new role as technical advisors.

Indigenous peoples' main demands are set out in their declarations. In recent years, meetings among indigenous groups have increased. Education has been an important issue at a number of these, most recently the International Congress of Indigenous Peoples on Education, held in Wollongong, Australia, at the end of 1993. One of the constant themes of this congress was the fundamental right of all indigenous people to be who they are — namely, indigenous.

Why Bilingual?

Indigenous peoples have the right to speak their own language, as well as the right (but not the obligation) to learn the national language used by the majority population. The 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child places considerable emphasis on the cultural and linguistic identities of children:

- Article 8 refers to the need to respect the right of the child to preserve his or her identity.
- Article 13 specifies that "[t]he child shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds ..." .
- Article 29 views the family and the child's cultural roots as intrinsically important to his or her development. Among other aims, it states that education should be directed to: "the development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values" (para. 1.c); and "the preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin" (para 1.d).
- Article 30 again refers specifically to the indigenous population: "In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities or persons of indigenous origin exist, a child belonging to such a minority or who is indigenous shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of his or her group, to enjoy his or her own culture, to profess and practise his or her own religion, or to use his or her own language".

The Convention therefore recognizes the right of indigenous children to maintain and develop their own cultural identities and values and to express themselves freely, including in their mother tongue. By implication, they also have a right to have access to education in their own language. There obviously can be no freedom of expression where children are not permitted or enabled to use their own language, as has continued to occur through the years in many schools for indigenous children. Children may even be physically punished or humiliated simply because they dare to speak the language they have always used. One Mexican indigenous woman relates that:

> ... What [affected] me the most was going to a non-bilingual school and losing the habit of speaking the indigenous language. For example, there were punishments, including having to stand up for an hour or being punished by 20 strokes of the cane for uttering words in the mother tongue (D'Emilio, 1989).

Similarly, indigenous children are often punished and humiliated for not speaking the national language well and are even labelled

as slow learners because they, quite understandably, have difficulty learning new concepts in this unfamiliar language.

Education systems have traditionally been reluctant to introduce changes, even when national censuses have clearly documented socio-linguistic variables. For instance, while almost three quarters of the Bolivian population speak an indigenous language, language has never been used within the education system as a criterion for planning and for allocating human resources.

Bilingual education has long been considered to be a valid strategy for improving the quality of education. From the early 1950s, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) emphasized the advantages of education in the individual's mother tongue. Evaluations of experiences of bilingual education show

Indigenous girls are especially vulnerable to the trauma of having to learn in an unfamiliar language.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

that in practice children learn better in their native language and that, once they are literate in that language, they have little difficulty transferring their skills to a new language.

In attempting to respond to the question 'Why bilingual?', this section can only deal with some of the issues, specifically those related to the rights of the child and the process of learning. Issues of social equity and reducing discrepancies in educational indicators among different social groups are also crucial to the debate.

In this context, indigenous girls and women have not only a right to, but also a particular need for, bilingual education. Because they are generally relegated to domestic and agricultural work, they have less contact with the wider society and consequently fewer opportunities to speak the dominant language. More than their male counterparts, then, they tend to be monolingual in their native language, or only just beginning to be bilingual. They are therefore especially vulnerable to the trauma of having to learn in an unfamiliar language. Bilingual programmes help them to extend their opportunities for social exchange. These programmes can also be an important means for indigenous girls to break the 'vicious circle' in which they have been caught until recently: going to school to learn the dominant language and then leaving school because they have not learned it adequately (D'Emilio, 1989).

It is worth noting in this respect that traditional Latin American education systems did not achieve the ideal of linguistic homogeneity mainly because of their failure to adopt appropriate methods for the teaching of a second language. This should come as no surprise as, in practice, the systems were inherently self-contradictory: they denied that diversity existed rather than taking it into account, even though their ultimate aim was to eliminate such diversity.

Bilingual education as it is currently taught in many indigenous areas has some serious limitations. State schools catering to indigenous children generally have highly inadequate facilities and poorly trained teachers. When given a bilingual programme to follow, teachers often prefer to use the language most commonly spoken, and therefore most easily understood, by their pupils. In addition, teachers may not be proficient in the dominant language and therefore provide unsatisfactory models for the children. To counter these difficulties, some bilingual education programmes have made good use of audio materials, such as cassettes, recordings and radio programmes. Another fundamental problem lies in the initial design of bilingual education programmes. Many are planned for situations in which learners speak a single native language. However, the socio-linguistic situation of indigenous communities may be far more complex, especially in pluri-ethnic zones such as settlements, and urban peripheries populated by rural migrants. Similarly, programmes designed for a specific age group or sex may be inappropriate in the context in which they are eventually used.

Why Intercultural?

Education must be intercultural so that the richness of the cultural plurality that characterizes many of the world's nations, particularly in Latin America, is recognized, respected and fully appreciated. This is not an easy task and, as often is the case, words and deeds are worlds apart.

Emphasis was initially placed only on 'bilingual' education; this then became 'bicultural', and eventually 'intercultural', education. However, these concepts have not been fully elaborated in bilingual intercultural education projects and programmes in Latin America. This is partly because, by involving and giving a say to people who have never had such opportunities, these programmes tend to attach more importance to self-affirmation than to tolerance and respect for diversity. In this context, just as the most commonly used language tends to be promoted more than the second language, the students' own knowledge and traditions are more highly valued than those from other cultural sources. It would be useful to explore the extent to which this approach constitutes a limitation in the initial school years, or whether it is a necessary stage in the education of children whose identities have been negated. Another

subject worth investigating is the potential correlation between levels of bilingualism and respect for cultural differences.

A number of education systems have, in principle at least, adopted an intercultural approach not only for the indigenous population but also for the children of the dominant culture. The proposed education reform in Bolivia, for example, integrates plurality and specificity, national and local concerns, and unity and diversity in a common national curriculum, which is, by its very nature, intercultural. In this way, indigenous culture is not merely a local concern, but forms an intrinsic part of the development of a national pluralist State. It will be interesting to see the qualitative results of this reform in terms of the tolerance, self-affirmation and self-confidence of children and adolescents in a country whose majority is indigenous.

Indigenous peoples, students and teachers can study the indigenous cultural heritage, compare it with other cultures and modernize it. In this way, the cultural background of the child becomes the principal reference point and educational resource in the learning process. For example, because indigenous peoples have traditionally lived in areas that are biologically highly diversified, they have developed unique and very precise categories in their languages for different aspects of the natural world (Vallejos, 1993). The profound understanding and wisdom of these age-old cultures could be usefully shared and could contribute to the development of a new and more sustainable approach to the environment. Indigenous organizations have proposed that this type of subject matter be included in bilingual intercultural curricula. So too should other areas of concern to indigenous peoples such as recipes using natural ingredients and simple cures for common ailments.

The indigenous culture is therefore an important resource to be tapped, and not just by education systems. It is also essential to a more sustainable and equitable economic development of the region. Similarly, the tension between cultural identity and modernity must be adequately considered in development processes. This tension has given rise to "a complex intercultural web, in which cultural identities and signs of modernity conflict and merge in many contradictory forms" (Calderón *et al.*, 1993, p. 2). This intercultural web should be adopted as common cultural property, since "... far from constituting an obstacle to our achievement of modernity, it should be our specific means of being modern" (ibid.). According to this logic, then, intercultural education can help to form individuals who are capable of functioning in different cultural universes while adopting the best of each of them for a richer life.

The tension between cultural identity and modernity is constantly found in the design and implementation of education programmes for indigenous populations. This tension is especially evident where there is a strong argument in favour of 'affirmative action', or preferential treatment of indigenous children, and particularly girls, in disadvantaged cultural contexts. Once again, this is not a case for neatly applying the solutions found in manuals, but rather for learning from the contradictions inherent in the current system and assessing what is sound, what should be changed, and how. This requires that governments and indigenous peoples work together to create a political strategy for a new form of 'citizenship', "positioning it at the crossroads between the right of political representation and the right to use public spaces for the affirmation of cultural identities" (ibid., p.19).

The Results of Bilingual Intercultural Education

Little provision has been made for the regular monitoring and evaluation of the bilingual intercultural education programmes introduced in Latin America thus far. There are also few longitudinal studies available of the educational outcomes of children who have participated in bilingual programmes at the primary level (which is where virtually all of these programmes have been implemented) and then continued their secondary education in normal schools. Nevertheless, although not systematically, some investigations and evaluations of bilingual intercultural education programmes have been undertaken, including comparative

About Bilingualism

Studies conducted on bilingual intercultural education in Latin America over the past two decades (*López, 1992, 1993 and 1994*) have found that:

- Bilingualism does not have an adverse effect on the intellectual growth of indigenous children, nor does it prevent them from effectively learning a second language.
- It is easier and more efficient to learn to read and write in the language best known and most widely used in everyday communication, particularly if the aim is reading comprehension and written expression, and not merely mechanical reading and writing.
- Practice in speaking the second language is needed before students can proceed to read and write in that language.
- An educational system fostering bilingualism provides an advantage to students, since the use of two linguistic systems is associated with greater cognitive flexibility and enhanced ability to use language in general in new contexts.
- A close relationship (some specialists would even say interdependence) is evident between initial linguistic development in the mother tongue and subsequent acquisition of a second language.
- Students must reach a certain degree of proficiency in a language before they can actively participate in classes and develop complex logical and cognitive facilities in that language. The entry level is fairly high: merely being able to communicate 'socially' in the second language is not enough. This distinction has important implications for the development of education programmes for children who are in the process of becoming bilingual.

studies. A preliminary assessment can therefore be made of the achievements and limitations of these programmes as well as their contribution to the improvement of education in general (see box).

In an attempt to narrow research gaps, the bilingual intercultural education project under way in Bolivia since 1990 with the support of UNICEF has instituted a longitudinal evaluation system. Its objective is to compare the outcomes of a sample group of children from bilingual schools, particularly Guaraní schools, and a control group of peers from non-bilingual schools. The results obtained in the bilingual schools have been highly encouraging. Nearly 70 per cent of the initial cohort in the bilingual schools completed both second and third grades, whereas in the case of non-bilingual schools, only 58 per cent completed second grade and even fewer, 42 per cent, completed third grade (Robles, 1993).

Second-grade bilingual schoolchildren scored significantly higher on reading and writing tests than their non-bilingual counterparts. Among the items analysed, the smallest differences were found in 'copying' and the most significant differences in reading and carrying out instructions (ibid.). In other words, bilingual schooling appears to achieve broader and better reading comprehension skills, while traditional schools give greater importance to the more mechanical aspects of the process of learning to read and write. Evaluation studies undertaken in Guatemala and Mexico also point to better reading comprehension for students in bilingual schools (see López, 1993).

Evaluations of the Bolivian experience also show that bilingual intercultural education has had the almost-immediate result of changing children's attitudes towards school. Children appear to be less inhibited — they are not afraid or ashamed to ask questions and correct the teacher if he or she makes a mistake. Following a visit to bilingual schools in Bolivia in 1993, Christine Lundy of the Canadian National Committee for UNICEF noted that what was "particularly impressive was the behaviour of girls in bilingual classes, who showed both self-confidence and a good grasp of the material they had been taught" (Lundy, 1993).

A possible levelling function of bilingual education emerges in an appraisal of the Puno Experimental Bilingual Education Project (PEEB) in Peru:

> PEEB schools concentrate on the development of children who have traditionally been at a disadvantage in their schooling (girls and children with the least extra-scholastic access to Spanish), by emphasizing Spanish, writing and mathematical problems; that is, ... those disciplines which

> require a higher initial degree of communicative competence. ... [The schools] tend to diminish the initial disadvantage shown by girls and children with the lowest level of extra-scholastic access to Spanish" (Rockwell *et al.*, 1989, p. 175).

Similarly, another study noted that children who perform poorly in monolingual parallel grades adapt rapidly when placed in bilingual sections and achieve satisfactory results (Robles, 1993).

Bilingual education in Bolivia, and possibly elsewhere, has managed to mobilize communities around the themes of identity, language and education itself. It has also brought parents closer to the school, breaking the monopoly teachers have had on education and allowing the community and grass-roots indigenous groups to exercise social control over the provision of education. When they are given a real opportunity to participate in decision-making about their children's schooling, parents no longer think speaking to teachers is a 'waste of time', nor are they ashamed of using their native language in these meetings. Moreover, because the indigenous language is used in the educational process, mothers in particular are able to understand what their children are learning. Another evaluation of the bilingual intercultural education project in Bolivia, undertaken externally in 1993, points out that "in practice, there were no community structures that did not accept or participate in community control of the bilingual school". The study identifies three principal factors underlying this collaboration: "socio-cultural affirmation, the harmonization of the various participants in the education process and educational equity" (Muñoz, 1993, p. 56).

Parents, then, have not rejected education in their mother tongue and have perhaps even welcomed it. Only two years after the bilingual education programme had been intro-

Indigenous girls in bilingual classes show self-confidence and a good grasp of the material they are being taught.

duced among the Guarani people, traditional indigenous authorities gave the following testimonials (D'Emilio, 1991, p. 23):

> I see that fathers, and mothers as well, are participating more and watching us, and that they are now critical. ... Before the bilingual education programme, nobody criticized. It did not matter whether the teacher taught or not. Now with the bilingual education programme, it is necessary for parents to supervise it themselves to see how it is going. They come and ask questions because they don't know what is happening (Mateo Chumiray).

> The parents participate more in these schools. We have seen that they participate because the children are learning in Guarani. ... In other communities where the education is only provided in Spanish, the meetings are in Spanish. However, where there are bilingual teachers, they participate in Guarani. In those cases, everything that is said is in Guarani (Bonifacio Barrientos).

As can be seen, the stakes are high: the emotional life of the child; his or her identity; the knowledge the child brings to school; the participation of parents; the social control of the community and the parents over the school; and the absence of shame at speaking a native language and even pride in doing so. Bilingual intercultural education is much more than an educational strategy: at its best, it contributes to the creation of a more just society in which diversity is accepted and recognized as a valuable asset.

How Much Does Bilingual Education Cost?

Bilingual education is often thought to increase the cost of education. This is clearly the case for top-quality education, with a teacher for each language, educational videos, language laboratories and frequent trips to other social and linguistic contexts. Nevertheless, although bilingual intercultural education is available in only few indigenous areas and thus remains more an objective than a reality, its principal difficulties are not necessarily financial. Costs may rise in the short term, but increases are less significant when the cost-benefit ratio in the medium-to-long term is considered.

Determining the cost of bilingual education is often difficult. First, most programmes have only been operating for a short time and have limited coverage. Governments have just recently begun to introduce this method on a national scale, and some countries with tens or even hundreds of native languages have formidable challenges ahead of them. Only one country — Mexico — claims to have satisfied the demand for bilingual education, an opinion also widely held by international experts and donor organizations but contradicted by statements made by indigenous spokesmen during the Chiapas protest. A second difficulty is that bilingual programmes usually involve educational changes that may have multiplier effects over time. Even comparing the costs of these programmes is problematic, since planning has at times been undertaken more with an eye to the interests of the officials (at the national and international levels) and funding agencies involved than to those of the populations targeted to benefit from these programmes.

Two of the most reliable sources concerning education costs, the World Bank and UNESCO, have not specifically calculated the costs of bilingual education, but they do give a few clues as to how this might be done. Drop-out and repetition rates can be used to determine the actual cost of school failure resulting from the lack of appropriate bilingual education. In Bolivia, where the majority of the population is indigenous, school failure costs the State almost $30 million a year. According to the World Bank, a 1 per cent reduction in repetition rates results in a 2.8 per cent decrease in costs. This figure is even higher in the case of drop-out: for every 1 per cent decline in drop-out, there is a 4.1 per cent reduction in costs (Lockheed and Verspoor, in ETARE, 1993).

ETARE, the technical support team for educational reform in Bolivia, has calculated, on the basis of an integrated household survey,

that the probability of indigenous children repeating the school year is almost double that of non-indigenous children (40 per cent compared with 23 per cent). The same source indicates that Bolivian schoolchildren require an average of almost 13 years to complete six years of primary education. In Guatemala, where there is also a majority indigenous population, 9.5 years are needed (ibid.).

If bilingual education helps to reduce drop-out and repetition, its cost will have been an investment in improving access to education for millions of indigenous children on the continent. If, in addition, it serves to strengthen languages that, without adequate protection, might disappear, it will also have made a significant contribution to the cultural heritage of humanity.

Studies suggest that bilingual programmes can improve access to education, strengthen indigenous languages and help to create a society that values diversity.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

References

ALTAIS, M.L., 'Censo indígena de Venezuela 1992: metodología y resultados', paper prepared for the workshop 'Investigación sociodemográfica contemporánea de pueblos indígenas', organized by CIDOB, CIFD, INE, CELADE and UNFPA, Santa Cruz, 18-22 October 1993.

ALWIN, J., 'Los derechos de los pueblos indígenas de Chile en la transición democrática', paper prepared for the workshop 'Investigación sociodemográfica contemporánea de pueblos indígenas', organized by CIDOB, CIFD, INE, CELADE and UNFPA, Santa Cruz, 18-22 October 1993.

BONFIL BATALLA, G., *México profundo: una civilización negada*, Grijalbo, National Council for Culture and the Arts, México, D.F., 1987.

CALDERON, F., Hopenhayn, M. and Ottone, E., 'Hacia una perspectiva crítica de la modernidad: las dimensiones culturales en la transformación productiva con equidad', *Working Paper*, No. 21, CEPAL, Santiago, 1993.

CELADE, *Condiciones de vida de los pueblos indígenas, estudio realizado en reducciones mapuches seleccionadas*, Universidad de la Frontera, INE, Fundación Instituto Indígena, PAESMI, CELADE, Santiago, 1991.

CELADE, 'Información censal sobre pueblos indígenas', in *Boletín demográfico: América Latina*, Year XXV, No. 50, Santiago, 1992.

D'EMILIO, L. (ed.), *Mujer Indígena y Educación en América Latina*, UNESCO/OREALC and Inter-American Indian Institute, Santiago, 1989.

D'EMILIO, L., 'Educación Bilingüe: Estrategia, conquista o derecho?' in *Revista Unitas*, Unitas, La Paz, 1991.

ETARE, *Reforma Educativa: Propuesta*, Ministry of Human Development, National Secretariat for Education, Cuadros, La Paz, 1993.

FERNANDEZ, M., 'Educación intercultural y bilingüe en el Alto Napo', in Corbera, A. (ed.), *Educación y lingüística en la Amazonía Peruana*, Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica, Lima, 1983.

FLACSO, *América Latina: Etnodesarrollo y Etnocidio*, Collection FLACSO, 25th Anniversary, San José, XEU NED, 1982.

INTER-AMERICAN INDIGENOUS INSTITUTE, 'Política indigenista (1991-1993)', in *América Indígena* LIII, 1993, pp. 7-143.

LOPEZ, L.E., 'La educación en áreas indígenas de América Latina: Apreciaciones comparativas desde la educación bilingüe intercultural', working paper, Chichicastenango, 1992.

LOPEZ, L.E., 'La enseñanza de y en lengua materna a niños vernáculo-hablantes en proceso de bilinguización', in *Pueblos Indígenas y Educación*, No. 26, Abya Yala, Quito, 1993.

LOPEZ, L.E., 'Educación, pluralidad y tolerancia: apreciaciones desde la educación indígena latinoamericana', working paper prepared for regional meeting, Santiago, BIE/OREALC, 1993.

LUNDY, C., 'Bolivia - field visit report', mimeo, November 1993.

MAYOR, F., speech delivered at the opening of the XIth Regional Conference of National Commissions for Latin America and the Caribbean, La Habana, 12 July 1993.

MENDOZ, H., 'Apreciación del Proyecto de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe', Vol. I, technical report, mimeo, La Paz 1993.

PELLETIER, F., 'Encuesta sobre los Pueblos Autóctonos de Canadá, 1991: Un reflejo de Nuestra Historia', paper prepared for the workshop 'Investigación sociodemográfica contemporánea de pueblos indígenas', organized by CIDOB, CIFD, INE, CELADE and UNFPA, Santa Cruz, 18-22 October 1993.

PEYSER, A. and CHACKIEL, J., 'La población indígena en los censos de América Latina', paper prepared for the workshop 'Investigación sociodemográfica contemporánea de pueblos indígenas', organized by CIDOB, CIFD, INE, CELADE and UNFPA, Santa Cruz, 18-22 October 1993.

PSACHAROPOULOS, G., 'Ethnicity, Education and Earnings in Bolivia and Guatemala', in *The World Bank Working Papers*, World Bank, Washington, D.C., 1992.

ROBLES, L., 'Análisis comparativo de las estadísticas de tres años consecutivos sobre el comportamiento de la población escolar', outline of paper, mimeo, Camiri, 1993.

ROBLES, L., 'Informe de evaluación parcial del PEIB: Area Guaraní. Año 1992', mimeo, Camiri, 1993.

ROCKWELL, E., Mercado, R., Muñoz, H. *et al.*, *Educación bilingüe y realidad escolar: un estudio en escuelas primarias andinas*, (partial evaluation report of the experimental bilingual education project in primary education in the Puno region, Peru, carried out in 1988), Lima-Puno, 1989.

RUIZ, M. and BOLIVAR, Y., 'El carácter multiétnico de Colombia y sus implicancias censales', paper prepared for the workshop 'Investigación sociodemográfica contemporánea de pueblos indígenas', organized by CIDOB, CIFD, INE, CELADE and UNFPA, Santa Cruz, 18-22 October 1993.

SIGUAN, M. and MACKEY, W., *Educación y Bilingüismo*, Santillana/UNESCO, Madrid, 1986.

STAVENHAGEN, R., *Problemas étnicos y campesinos*, INI/SEP, México, D.F., 1980.

STAVENHAGEN, R. and NOLASCO, M. (eds.), *Política cultural para un país multiétnico. Coloquio sobre problemas educativos y culturales en una sociedad multiétnica*, SEP/ET, Colegio de México/Universidad de las Naciones Unidas, México, D.F., 1988.

VALLEJOS, C., 'Pueblos indígenas y diversidad biológica', paper prepared for the workshop 'Investigación sociodemográfica contemporánea de pueblos indígenas', organized by CIDOB, CIFD, INE, CELADE and UNFPA, Santa Cruz, 18-22 October 1993.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

THE CHILDREN OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN LATIN AMERICA: THE INTERCULTURAL CONFLICT

JOSÉ MATOS MAR

Indigenous children in Latin America, like impoverished children the world over, are constantly denied their basic human rights. Many work in demeaning, unprotected and exploitative conditions. They are often forced to migrate under the pressures of poverty and witness the breakdown of their families and communities. Particularly in urban and *mestizo* areas, they may resort to illegal or hazardous activities such as prostitution, drug trafficking and theft in order to survive. Some become drug addicts or join street gangs. These children rarely have access to governmental health, education and welfare services, and only a small number are reached by non-governmental initiatives. In general, then, their situation is the negation of the ideals spelt out in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) and the promises made by the international community at the 1990 World Summit for Children.

Because of their ethnic origins, however, indigenous children in most Latin American countries bear an additional burden: they are continuously subjected to subtle forms of cultural and psychological aggression which seriously mar their individual and collective development. From their earliest years, they are affected by the discrimination, subordination and powerlessness they experience themselves and witness in their communities. They are the defenceless victims of a complex and destructive process, referred to by anthropologists as 'deculturization' and 'intercultural conflict', which began with the colonization of the Americas.

In terms of health, the limited and often conflicting data available suggest that mortality rates for indigenous people are higher than national averages in most Latin American countries. This is especially the case in countries where the indigenous population makes up a large proportion of the total. In Peru, the infant mortality rate for the indigenous population is nearly twice that of the overall infant population. In Bolivia, the under-five mortality rate (U5MR) is 122 per 1,000 for Spanish speakers, while it reaches 186 for indigenous-language speakers. So too in Guatemala, U5MR is 122 for *ladinos* and 142 for indigenous children (Psacharopoulos and Patrinos, 1993).

Nutritional disorders are frequent among indigenous children. Because of insufficient iodine intake, indigenous peoples are particularly vulnerable to goitre. Moreover, they alone among Latin American populations are affected by onchocerciasis, a parasitic infection. Both diseases have been under study for some time and could easily and inexpensively be eradicated. What is not being studied are the long-term consequences of malnutrition on indigenous children and, by extension, on indigenous populations. This is a particularly serious omission given current knowledge of the damaging and often irreversible consequences of nutritional deficiencies occurring in early childhood.

More urgent still, however, are studies on the psychological effects of discrimination and intolerance on indigenous children, especially during their early formative years. In general, by the age of six children have

already developed their personal and ethnic identities. If they have lived in an indigenous family and community, they are by this age indigenous themselves and culturally different from their non-indigenous peers. They speak another language and have acquired other ethical, religious and aesthetic value systems as well as distinct community and social roles and loyalties. The period during which children, in the intimacy of their households and communities, develop their ethnic roots may be seen as a physical and social space that indigenous peoples have managed to protect from the 'deculturizing' forces and mechanisms of the dominant society. It is this process of identity reproduction through young children that explains the determined and defiant survival of the indigenous peoples and cultures of the Americas as well as the failure of centuries-long efforts to eradicate them.

When indigenous children enter the official school system at the age of six or so, they come into direct contact, sometimes for the first time, with the 'other' culture, society and identity. Here they are subjected to a two-sided attack. The dominant culture is imposed on them, and all that is non-indigenous and foreign becomes prestigious and powerful. At the same time, their own

Indigenous children living in the Bolivian Altiplano often walk along the main road in the hope that passing drivers will give them some bread

culture is ridiculed and they are prohibited from expressing everything that, up till then, they were taught to regard as normal, good or even sacred.

Forced to participate in two or more cultures and value systems, with little chance to decide which of them is predominant or genuine, indigenous children inevitably experience serious conflicts of loyalties. This situation can cause profound psychological and identity problems at both the individual and societal levels. These divisions also account in large part for the social breakdowns, conflicts and violence that periodically erupt in the region, preventing long-term stability and sustained development. Recently, governments have been attempting to deal with these conflicts through bilingual intercultural education projects (see D'Emilio). Clearly, however, the deepest roots of these problems lie outside the classroom and the education system: they are fundamentally historical, social and political. Accordingly, any attempt to deal with the root causes, rather than the symptoms, of the problems of indigenous children must begin with an examination of the intercultural environment in which they live. This type of analysis can pave the way for an improved understanding of the structural imbalances that generate the aggression, mal-

By the age of six, indigenous children have developed their personal and ethnic identities.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Country	Number of Languages	Speakers (10,000)
Argentina	23	9
Belize*	9	8
Bolivia	38	7
Brazil	208	7
Chile	7	2
Colombia	78	7
Costa Rica*	11	3
Ecuador	23	9
El Salvador*	4	4
Guatemala*	26	15
Honduras*	10	4
Mexico	72	37
Nicaragua*	9	4
Panama*	6	3
Paraguay	21	5
Peru	85	27
Uruguay	1	1
Venezuela	40	5

Source: Hornberger, 1992, p.191.
* Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1988.

Language Diversity in Latin America

The major indigenous population centres are in Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico and Peru. Some countries have declared an indigenous language as a second major language. In 1975, Peru designated Spanish a 'dominant' language and Quechua an 'official' language. The Paraguayan Constitution of 1967 proclaimed Guaraní as the 'national' language, whereas in the Constitution of 1992 it became an 'official' language. Guaraní is spoken by both indigenous and non-indigenous people in Paraguay, an exception in Latin America. However, while Guaraní flourishes alongside Spanish, the Amerindian culture has disappeared and the dominant social institutions and culture have remained Hispanic. In Bolivia in 1987, Tupi-Guaraní was recognized as a national language together with Spanish, Quechua and Aymara, and it was included in the academic curricula at all educational levels in urban and rural areas with large Tupi-Guaraní concentrations (Psacharopoulos and Patrinos, 1993).

treatment and harm inflicted on indigenous children, a situation that until now has gone unchecked and unpunished (Amnesty International, 1992).

Indigenous Nations and Ethnic Democracy

Despite over one and a half centuries of independence, most Latin American countries have been unable to overcome the conditions of inferiority, marginalization and extreme poverty that began in 1492 with the European invasion and continued for centuries under the colonizing powers. The new nations that emerged from the wars of independence in the 19th century enacted policies intended to assimilate aboriginal societies into the dominant Western European ideologies and lifestyles. They in fact succeeded in 'Westernizing' the vast majority of aboriginal peoples, thereby imperfectly and grotesquely carrying out the conquistadors' plan to 'civilize' the Americas. They failed, however, to dominate more than 400 aboriginal 'nations' — that is, groups speaking a particular language and sharing common origins, interests, traditions, beliefs and lifestyles, whose members perceive themselves as belonging to the same people and having the same national identity. Although most are small societies of some hundreds or thousands of inhabitants, some are larger than many of the more widely known European ethnic groups. The Quechua, for example, number 10-12 million people; the Maya, 3.5 million; the Aymara, 3 million; and the Náhuatl, 1.2 million. The combined population of these 400 nations today reaches nearly 40 million.

All of these peoples are now claiming the right to retain their place both in history and in contemporary society, the right to evolve and develop without losing their own distinct identities and lifestyles. They firmly and unanimously reject policies seeking to 'integrate' them into the dominant society through offers of 'civilization', 'progress' and 'modernization' in exchange for the loss of their indigenous identities. Their stand creates new challenges for governments and others working in this area: social and political institutions need to be created to accommodate indigenous groups as autonomous and different peoples, which implies the development of a new model of ethnic democracy for nation-states; at the same time, social and cultural mechanisms will have to be devised that will enable indigenous peoples to express themselves and to develop their cultures, traditions and identities autonomously, sheltered from pat-

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ronizing attempts to assimilate them into the dominant social model.

An overview of indigenous populations in Latin America shows the extreme heterogeneity of their situations. In some countries their numbers are highly significant while in others they are almost symbolic. In Bolivia and Guatemala, for example, indigenous people account for over 50 per cent of the total population; in Peru and Ecuador, from 25 to 40 per cent; and in Mexico, only 10 per cent. In some areas, indigenous people are fully integrated into modern society in professional or technical occupations, in the armed forces, as politicians or as an important component of informal urban economies; in other areas, such as Amazonia, they maintain their traditional tribal culture and lifestyles. Whatever their situation, however, the common denominator linking these people — apart from being ethnic minorities, victims of severe discrimination and, for the most part, extremely poor — is their virtual 'invisibility' to governments, the Establishment and large parts of civil society who generally seem unaware of their presence or significance. Since the 1960s, however, indigenous peoples have aligned themselves with other social forces and pressure groups that, throughout Latin America, are demanding the attention of States.

Progress in Latin America is hindered by an enormous external debt, wide-ranging corruption, governmental incompetence and uncontrollable violence. Economic imbalances are severe. In Mexico, for instance, 200 families control 62 per cent of the country's economy, a situation that repeats itself, with minor variations, in most other Latin American countries. According to the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL), more that 190 million

XI[th] Congreso Indigenista Interamericano

Commission IV of the *XI[th] Congreso Indigenista Interamericano*, held in Managua in November 1993, drew the following conclusions:

"The XI[th] Congreso Indigenista Interamericano resolves to:

1. Demand that each member State of the *Instituto Indigenista Interamericano* include in its constitutional charter the rights of indigenous peoples, the guarantee of their legitimate use and enjoyment as well as their genuine participation in the regulation of such rights.
2. Promote respect for the struggle of indigenous peoples to consolidate and develop their own life course, which involves the various processes to satisfy their needs (land, autonomy, health, education, etc.).
3. Seek the restructuring of the member States of the *Instituto Indigenista Interamericano*, with the appointment of a Commission comprising the official delegates and representatives of the indigenous peoples of El Salvador, Mexico, Colombia, Chile, Nicaragua and Guatemala. This Commission shall submit a draft protocol in which the objectives and functions, institutions for representation and equitable participation, etc., shall be redefined, with a view to determining a relationship of respect and to supporting the development and self-management of indigenous peoples.
4. Request international governmental and non-governmental organizations to exercise their influence on countries to bring to an end the practice of violations of the human rights of indigenous peoples and to respect the right to land, principally in relation to contracts with international enterprises which are detrimental to communal land.
5. Request national and international bodies to provide economic support through legally constituted community-level organizations; however, if such support is given through organizations established without the full knowledge of indigenous communities, it shall be supervised by the above communities in order to safeguard that international aid reaches the indigenous communities.
6. Publicize the fact that each indigenous people is struggling to consolidate and develop its own life course. ... It is necessary for national and international organizations, both governmental and non-governmental, to provide their support in recognition of the life course of each people, to strengthen the processes of training and management development, to seek the eradication of paternalism and to consolidate the self-determination and autonomy of indigenous peoples.
7. Petition the United Nations for the declaration of a decade for indigenous peoples, the adoption of the Declaration of the Rights of the World's Indigenous Peoples and the establishment of a United Nations sub-secretariat for indigenous peoples."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

people live below the poverty line in the region, and their numbers are constantly growing.

Weak and unstable governments face growing opposition from popular movements, whose ranks continue to increase as a result of explosive population growth and the rapid pace of urbanization. As the State can neither satisfy their needs nor provide the services they demand, people have begun to take action. Seeking out all the cracks and weaknesses in the system, they are finding ways to survive and create spaces of their own. In the process, a number of new trends have emerged. One of these, currently the focus of considerable attention, is the unofficial economy or the so-called informal sector. Accounting for between 60 and 70 per cent of the economic activity in some countries, this sector is modernizing and increasing the economic dynamism of Latin American societies.

However, social, economic and cultural processes develop erratically in Latin America, and the route to modernization is full of pitfalls and anomalies, or 'anomies' to use the sociological term. Established norms are breaking down, anything goes and anything is possible, both legally and illegally — honesty, hope and faith, but also drug trafficking, terrorism and violence. Upon this difficult and

Indigenous schoolchildren are continuously subjected to subtle forms of cultural and psychological aggression.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

uncertain terrain, people are improvising and developing their own social, economic and cultural projects. Although such initiatives remain outside government plans and policies, they are setting Latin American societies on a new course.

The Indigenous Revival and Modernization

With the 500th anniversary of the Spanish presence on the continent, the awarding of a Nobel Prize for peace to an indigenous woman, and preparations for the 1993 International Year of the World's Indigenous Peoples, the eyes of governments, groups and individuals turned to the indigenous peoples of Latin America in 1992. A number of indigenous organizations gained prominence, setting out their positions and demands and providing new information on the conditions of their people. However, it went relatively unnoticed that in 1992 the indigenous peoples could finally boast the same population that they had had in 1492, before being subjected to killings, destruction, violations, discrimination, cultural constraints and extreme poverty.

In 1532, the Spanish first settled in Peru. After less than a century, in 1620, the original Indian population in the Andean area of 9-10 million had been decimated, leaving fewer than one million. In other parts of the continent, equally shocking and sometimes even more destructive processes have been documented. And yet the indigenous peoples resisted such brutal and genocidal 'population policies' and are now a significant presence in Latin American countries. They are important for their distinct cultures and ethnic identities and the profound loyalty they nourish for their traditions. They feel proud to be Aymara, Quechua, Aguaruna, Nahua or Otomi. This sense of pride is new and energizing. Indigenous people are now mobilizing themselves and have established non-governmental and other grass-roots organizations. And as is the case with other movements, this new indigenous presence has both positive and negative aspects — some leaders are well-intentioned, others are corrupt; some groups use legal strategies, others resort to illegal ones.

The overall increase in the indigenous population and their growing importance in urban areas are two notable trends. Until the 1930s, it was unheard of for Indians, say, in Peru to live in Lima. Now, in Lima as in other cities, indigenous people are proud to say *"Yo soy indígena"* (I am Indian). Urban Indians can be found in professional, academic and technical areas: there are hundreds of indigenous anthropologists, sociologists, chemists, mathematicians and other scientists, including nuclear physicists, and thousands of teachers and technicians. Indians also play an important and dynamic role in the informal sector of the economy, adding to it an ethnic dimension.

In addition, indigenous persons now hold high positions within the political structure of many Latin American countries. Peru and Bolivia both have had indigenous vice-presidents. In 1987, hundreds of indigenous members of parliament and senators joined together to form an 'indigenous' parliament with headquarters in Caracas, Venezuela. The parliament holds regional meetings and issues statements on themes that are important to the indigenous movement.

Indigenous peoples thus have a unique part to play in the modernization of Latin American countries and in the development of national identities, and are bringing to this task new creativity, knowledge and skills. At the same time, by cherishing the culture of their ancestors, they maintain a system of values, customs and knowledge that reinforces their sense of identification with their communities. In this way, indigenous peoples are reclaiming and redefining their identities and are showing themselves to be pioneers in the debate on a new order of inter-ethnic and international relations. This has already taken on a global dimension, and will do so even more in the future.

Growing globalization has brought with it a strong concern that a new imperial Rome, an all-powerful hegemony, will emerge. Yet, it is increasingly clear that today's world is too complex to be controlled by one nation, however large, rich and powerful it may be. The

main problem, then, is how to achieve real democracy, how to mould a truly democratic, just, realistic and modern State.

This is an extremely complex political question, one that, by implication, points to the possibility of an 'ethnic democracy', which would require equitable relations and equal participation at the international and inter-ethnic levels. Such a democracy would exclude the present power structures in the Americas, which have been increasingly called into question. Since the 1970s, governments have been seeking a new kind of political system or model that can translate the ideal of democracy into reality. Why mention this in the context of indigenous peoples? The main reason is that underlying their lifestyles, political structures and daily lives is a profoundly democratic 'substratum'. This makes it possible for them, despite the harsh conditions in which they live and without giving up their own identities, to make a vital contribution to the democratization process and to a coalescing of what is now the confused, uncertain and unstable 'national identity' of many of the countries in the region. Indigenous peoples are particularly suited for this task because they have a solid historical and cultural basis, and their relationship with their respective societies may be compared with what is bound to happen in the world.

Many societies are facing ideological crises because they lack an ideological base. This situation has led to a widespread feeling of confusion and disorientation. The international community is seeking peaceful stability, but this cannot come about through external control or, even worse, through the hegemony of one country or a small group of nations.

Indigenous peoples, while deploring unrestrained capitalism, value modern science and technology, including computer technology, which they wish to adopt and use, and indeed are doing so in greater numbers. Nonetheless, they realize what has been lost. In their view, society has lost a democratic space, a sense of the 'social', of the community — and they ask how it can be retrieved and incorporated into today's world.

The fundamental question then, and one that will become even more crucial in the future, is how to combine what is positive and valuable within each of us and within the current social system, while also holding on to values that are in danger of disappearing, in order to set a new course towards a more generalized well-being and improved status for the societies of the world. It is within this context that the indigenous community has a significant role to play, particularly in the Americas.

Ethnic groups are new actors on the international scene. Until recently there were only a handful of 'high-profile' ethnic groups — the Catalans, the Basques, the Flemings, the Welsh. Now, hundreds of such groups — including the Quechua, the Aymara and the Otomi of Latin America — actively remind us of their existence, claiming the right to influence the course of history. This trend will become increasingly important in the future as more and more indigenous groups become active participants in the process. With such a rich and promising prospect ahead, there is much to be learned and investigated.

In many Latin American countries, information considered to be 'inconvenient' is often concealed, or its importance downplayed at official levels. A number of organizations, notably the Instituto Indigenista Interamericano and the Colegio de México, have begun to collect reliable and up-to-date data and to develop a more thorough and realistic picture of country situations. Their examples should be followed. At the very least, it should be possible to compile an exhaustive list of all existing ethnic groups, to know where they are located and to have access to all the relevant basic information for each group, starting with their demographic composition.

Bilingualism, Literacy and Computers

Indigenous peoples have reacted to the inability or unwillingness of governments in Latin America to respond to their legitimate demands by acting for themselves on many fronts and using various strategies. From this

broad, innovative and expanding panorama of indigenous self-management, one example is presented here: an experiment involving most of the 17 indigenous groups of Oaxaca, Mexico, who are recording their spoken languages on computer in an effort to develop standardized written languages and to promote reading and writing in these tongues. They are working in their own centres, which are managed by bilingual teachers.

The Oaxaca experiment has been extended through three courses in Mexico. Additional economic support is needed to develop the experiment further and to carry out plans to extend it to other spheres of community life, such as the economy and welfare. A course was also held in Pujilí, Ecuador, which focused on relating the Oaxaca experience to bilingual intercultural education in Ecuador. A similar initiative is currently being

Indigenous populations have a profound sense of the community

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Oaxaca Experience

New indigenous trends, including the democratization of the school system, the ethnic awakening and the progress made in bilingual intercultural education throughout the continent, have created an urgent need to provide professional training for indigenous people with a view to establishing a type of indigenous intelligentsia. It is hoped that these new indigenous intellectuals will actively participate in the movement for the development and defence of their cultures and languages.

A step in this direction has been taken by the Centre for Investigations and Studies in Social Anthropology (CIESAS) in Oaxaca, Mexico. CIESAS is promoting a project whose principal objective is to retrieve and reappraise, through the written language, the cultural and linguistic values of the indigenous societies of the region, and possibly of other indigenous groups, in order to promote the development of native-language literatures. Twenty-eight persons, all of whom are bilingual, and 26 of whom are bilingual teachers, have participated directly in the project. Many of these writers are graduates of the Programme for the Training of Native Ethno-Linguists. Among those trained are bilingual Zapotecos (6), Mazatecos (5), Mixes (5), Mixtecos (4), Chinantecos (4), Chatinos (2) and Tzetzales (1).

Indigenous peoples want to be a part of the 20th century while maintaining their ethnic roots.

The existence of this type of project is encouraging, particularly when it is principally managed by its own users. It is especially significant that this effort to recover the indigenous world outlook, and the technique used to do so, is based directly on the indigenous language itself without passing through the filter of Spanish. However, the narrow scope of the initiative is a cause for concern. The project is limited to the compilation and storage of ethnic data or, at most, the reproduction of literary texts. Although these aspects are important, the project should be reoriented so that it can contribute to a real development of the written language. This would require going beyond mere description and, as the underlying assumption is that indigenous languages need to be unified and standardized, should be based on authentic creation which would contribute to making them more intellectual languages.

The project has thus far had only limited impact on the education sector. To its credit, it has trained additional teachers in writing techniques, therefore enabling them to become involved in the debate about the different orthographic systems and their possible unification. The project now needs to reach other important social groups, such as indigenous secondary school students and adults with limited formal education. Most importantly, it needs to form closer ties with the formal education system in order to influence education processes and generate qualitative changes through the strengthening of bilingual intercultural education, both at the primary and secondary levels.

A number of indigenous communities have shown considerable interest in the initiative and have provided support for the field work. A greater effort is needed, however, to involve the traditional community leaders in this project. Otherwise, it risks becoming an élitist body isolated from the context from which it has arisen and is intended to serve.

Source: America Indigena, 1990, pp. 265-289.

attempted in Bolivia, though it is severely hampered by a lack of funds.

The Oaxaca project has proved to be a valuable experience. It has been successful because it responds to the deeply felt need and aspiration of all indigenous peoples to preserve, enrich and modernize their cultural heritages and ethnic identities. The techniques used in Oaxaca have enabled the community to employ some of the most sophisticated equipment that modern technology has to offer. In no more than two weeks, the indigenous participants learned to operate computers and read and write their ancestral lan-

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

guages. This process has strengthened their identities and given them the opportunity to discover their indigenous 'reality' and to understand their own history. Moreover, this initial step could provide a powerful stimulus for indigenous people to group together and work on their own income-generation and ethnic-development projects.

Although only limited external support would be needed to realize such projects, governments and politicians have so far responded with indifference to the initiative. Nonetheless, the Oaxaca experiment has proved to be a valid step along an important path, a valuable method of strengthening cultural and social links. Other positive computer-based experiments in the field of bilingual intercultural education have taken place elsewhere in Mexico and in Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru.

To conclude, it should be stressed that the indigenous question is a global one in that ethnic and indigenous peoples are only part of the vast popular movements that are beginning to gain importance. As groups and as a broad popular mass, they are questioning States that are weak and precarious. The issue is fundamentally political and therefore requires democratic participation. It is connected with the exercise of power, with the polarization of societies between the rich and the swelling numbers of the poor. Its scope is therefore vast and is closely related to the existence of a series of falsehoods and anachronisms, such as current democratic models and prevailing systems.

This chapter has attempted to illustrate that indigenous peoples are emerging and that all of us — governments, politicians, civil society — must build bridges of understanding. This means listening to the 'voice of the tribe'. And listening to this voice means understanding what indigenous people are thinking. They want self-determination, their own land, their own identity, their full development and self-management. These are their claims, and we must meet them.

References

AMERICA INDIGENA, Vol. L, No. 2-3, 1990, pp. 265-289.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, *Los pueblos indígenas de América siguen sufriendo*, EDAI, Madrid, 1992. (Parts were also reprinted in *Anuario Indigenista*, Vol. XXXI, 1992, pp. 307-317.)

HORNBERGER, 'Literacy in South America', in *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, No. 12, 1992.

PSACHAROPOULOS, G. and PATRINOS, H.A. (eds.), *Indigenous People and Poverty in Latin America: An Empirical Research*, Latin America and the Caribbean Technical Department, Regional Studies Programme, Report No. 30, August 1993.

SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS, *Ethnologue Languages of the World*, SIL, Dallas, 1988.

Indigenous peoples are asking how the values that today's society has lost can be retrieved.

APPENDIX

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS - FEBRUARY 1994 MEETING ON 'DISCRIMINATION AGAINST CHILDREN AND FAMILIES OF MINORITY GROUPS AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLES'

Maria Elena Andreotti	First Operations Officer, International Institute of the United Nations for the Research on Criminality (UNICRI), Rome, Italy
Claire Auzias	Information Officer, Institut de l'Enfance et de la Famille, Paris, France
Paolo Basurto	Deputy Director, UNICEF, International Child Development Centre, Florence, Italy
Anny Bremner	Consultant, UNICEF, International Child Development Centre, Florence, Italy
João de Pina Cabral	Research Fellow, Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon, Lisbon, Portugal
Paolo Chiozzi	Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Florence, and Consultant, Istituto degli Innocenti, Florence, Italy
Patricia Clough	Journalist, *The Independent*, Rome, Italy
Luchino Cortese	Director, Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Warsaw, Poland
Sandro Costarelli	Social Researcher, Department of Anthropology, University of Florence, and Consultant, Istituto degli Innocenti, Florence, Italy
Silvia De Giuli	Research Assistant, UNICEF, International Child Development Centre, Florence, Italy
Lucia D'Emilio	Programme Officer, UNICEF, La Paz, Bolivia
Asbjørn Eide	Director, Norwegian Institute for Human Rights, Oslo, Norway
Elisabetta Forni	Researcher, Department of Social Sciences, University of Turin, Turin, Italy
Phil Harris	Journalist, Inter Press Service, Rome, Italy
Anthony Hezzett	Chief, Programme Communication/Social Mobilization, Programme Division, UNICEF, New York, United States of America
James R. Himes	Director, UNICEF, International Child Development Centre, Florence, Italy
Konrad Huber	Adviser to the High Commissioner on National Minorities, Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, The Hague, The Netherlands
Thomas Kattau	Administrator, Health and Social Policy Division, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, France
Susi Kessler	Senior Advisor, UNICEF, New York, United States of America
Karl-Eric Knutsson	Senior Fellow, UNICEF, International Child Development Centre, Florence, Italy
Jean-Pierre Liégeois	Director, Centre de Recherches Tsiganes, University of Paris, Clichy, France
Patricia Light	Information Officer and Coordinator, Children's Rights Information Base Project, UNICEF, International Child Development Centre, Florence, Italy

Donata Lodi	Chief, Information/Publications, Italian National Committee for UNICEF, Rome, Italy
José Matos Mar	Director, Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, Mexico City, Mexico
Edmond McLoughney	Programme Officer, CEE/NIS Unit, UNICEF, Geneva, Switzerland
Luciano Mecacci	Director, Department of Psychology, University La Sapienza, Rome, Italy
Daniele Mezzana	Centro di Ricerca e Documentazione Febbraio 1974 (CERFE), Rome, Italy
Gregorio Monasta	Chief, Americas Section, Programme Division, UNICEF, New York, United States of America
Vincenzo Pace	Professor, Department of International Studies, University of Padova, Padova, Italy
Christian Petry	Executive Director, Freudenberg Stiftung, Weinheim, Federal Republic of Germany
Alan Phillips	Director, International Secretariat, Minority Rights Group, London, United Kingdom
Michèle Pusbasset	Director General, Centre International de l'Enfance, Paris, France
Valeria Russo	Consultant, UNICEF, International Child Development Centre, Florence, Italy
Bernard Schlemmer	Scientific Coordinator, Institut Français de Recherche Scientifique pour le Développement en Coopération, OSTROM, Bondy, France
Robert Smith	Executive Director, United Kingdom National Committee for UNICEF, London, United Kingdom
Victor Soler-Sala	Special Representative, Spanish National Committee for UNICEF, Madrid, Spain
Rodolfo Stavenhagen	Director, Department of Social Sciences, El Colegio de Mexico, Mexico City, Mexico
Nico van Oudenhoven	Deputy Executive Director, Bernard van Leer Foundation, The Hague, The Netherlands
Rekha Wazir	Coordinator, Programme Development, Bernard van Leer Foundation, The Hague, The Netherlands
Anna Lena Wik-Thorsell	Senior Editor, *Svenska Dagbladet*, Stockholm, Sweden
Wim Willems	Researcher, Institute for Study of Social Conflicts, University of Leiden, Leiden, The Netherlands
Sarah Williams	Secretary General, European Forum for Child Welfare, Brussels, Belgium

Notes on Contributors

- *Paolo Basurto* is a lawyer and economic planner, and currently UNICEF Representative in Guatemala. He served as Deputy Director of the UNICEF International Child Development Centre, Florence, Italy, from 1991 to 1994. He joined UNICEF in 1983 as Area Representative in Santiago, Chile, and later became UNICEF Representative in Lima, Peru (1986–1991). From 1972 to 1983 he held various positions in the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He has written a number of articles and essays on development cooperation.

- *Paolo Chiozzi* is currently professor of Anthropology and Urban Sociology at the University of Florence, and serves as a consultant to the *Istituto degli Innocenti*, Florence, on issues relating to migrant children. He has for many years conducted studies on immigration in Europe, and is at present promoting the development of an 'anthropology of children' in Italy. His interest in urban anthropology and visual anthropology is reflected in two of his most recent publications, *Antropologia urbana e relazioni interetniche* (Florence, 1991), and *Manuale di antropologia visuale* (Milan, 1993).

- *Lucia D'Emilio*, socio-anthropologist, is currently an Education Officer with UNICEF in Bolivia. Before joining UNICEF, she worked with a non-governmental organization and then with the Latin American Regional Office of UNESCO, coordinating regional activities on intercultural bilingual education. She has written diverse papers on anthropology applied to education and indigenous peoples.

- *Jean-Pierre Liégeois* teaches at the University René Descartes, Paris, and is Director of the Gypsy Research Centre, Sorbonne University, Paris. In his numerous books and articles on Gypsies and Travellers, he has critically examined policy developments, analysed the evolution of Gypsy organizations and made concrete proposals for improvements in the situations of Gypsy communities. Since the early 1980s, he has collaborated closely with the Council of Europe and the European Commission on Gypsy-related issues.

- *Donata Lodi* is a researcher in anthropology and social issues. Among her papers are a study on 19th century liberation movements in southern Africa and various essays on women's anthropology. She is presently Chief of the Documentation, Publications and Audiovisuals Unit of the Italian National Committee for UNICEF, where she has been working since 1979. Her major fields of interest are information and Education for Development.

- *José Matos Mar*, an anthropologist, is Director of the Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, Mexico City, Mexico, which is a specialized agency of the Organization of American States. He is Professor Emeritus of the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Lima, Peru, and was Chairman of the XXXIX International Congress on American Studies. He is the author of more than 20 books on indigenous communities and social and economic problems in Peru and Latin America.

- *Rodolfo Stavenhagen*, a social anthropologist and sociologist, has been a research professor at El Colegio de Mexico, Mexico City, since 1965 and is currently Director of its Department of Social Sciences. He was Visiting Professor at Stanford University, California, from 1990 to 1993 and Assistant Director General of UNESCO, Paris, France, from 1979 to 1982. He is Chairman of the Board of the Fund for the Development of Indigenous Peoples in Latin America as well as of International Alert, a London-based NGO. He has written extensively on ethnic and human rights issues, most recently *Ethnic Conflict and Development* (MacMillan, forthcoming).

Photo credits

UNICEF / Jane Taylor
Kurdish child, Iraq p. 10

UNICEF / Roger Lemoyne
Sudanese child p. 17

UNICEF / Jeremy Horner
Ecuadorian child cover, p. 24

UNICEF / Sean Sprague
Gipsy child, Bulgaria p. 30
Gipsy child, Czech and Slovak Federal Republic p. 44

Mariana Yampolsky
Mazahua Indian children, Mexico pp. 26, 81
Nahua Indian children, Mexico pp. 91, 100

Studio Associato Press Photo
Courtesy of La Nazione, *Florence (Italy)*
Gipsy children, Italy pp. 35, 38, 41, 50, 70
Maghrebi child, Italy p. 48
Chinese children, Italy pp. 53, 55, 62, 66, 68

E. Bauer
Quechua children, Bolivia p. 78

Christophe Kuhn
Guarani girls, Bolivia pp. 85, 87

UNICEF / A. Graciano
Indigenous children, Bolivia p. 90

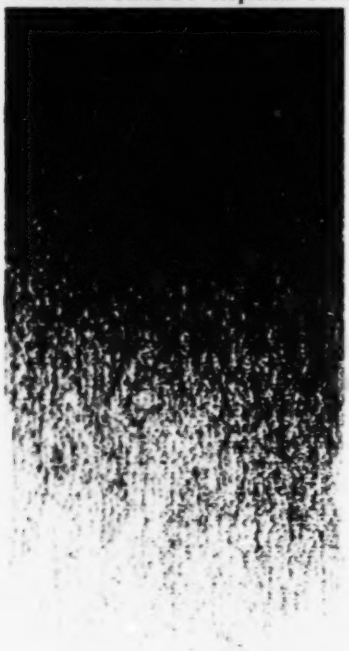
UNICEF / Francene Keery
Tarahumara Indian boys, Mexico p. 94

Mavu Mohanna
Indigenous children, Guatemala p. 97

UNICEF, Guatemala
Mayan girl, Guatemala p. 98

printed by Centrooffset - Siena, Italy

UNICEF
International Child Development Centre



BEST COPY AVAILABLE